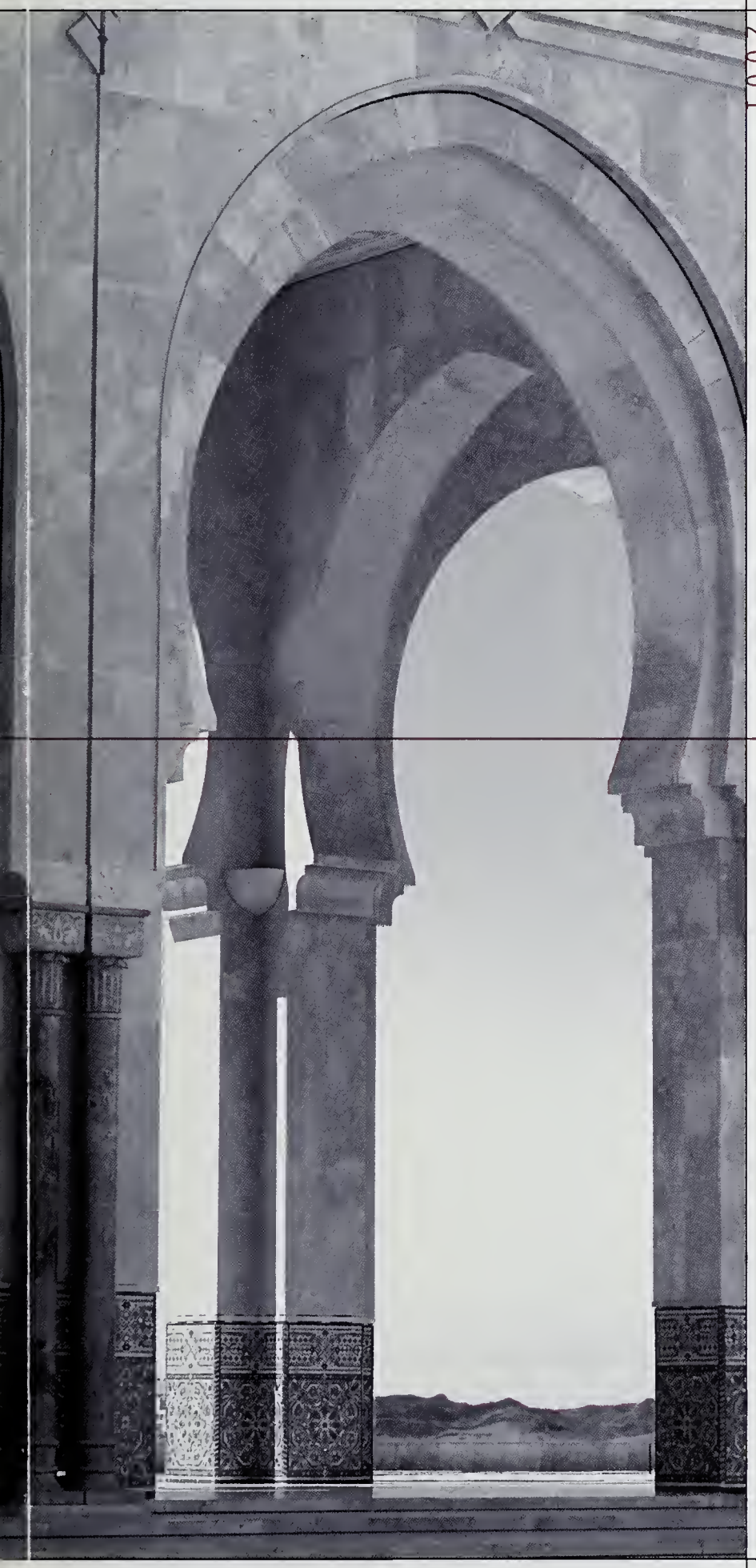
ANNUAL REPORT 2001



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ANNUAL REPORT 2001

Report of the President

Report to the Board of Trustees:

In anticipation of developing programmatic initiatives, the following report provides a brief survey of Islam, including its tenets, institutions, evolution and historical role, along with some insights into the current state of Muslim societies and the challenges they face.

Islam: A Mosaic, Not a Monolith

Although more than a year has passed since the attacks of September 11, 2001, most Americans still have such a sketchy knowledge of Islam that we probably need to keep ourselves focused on President George W. Bush's repeated reminders that terrorists, not Muslims or Arabs, are the enemy. That reasoned message, however, is often drowned out by noisy ones from some Muslim clerics who call America the "Great Satan" and some political theorists who interpret the war cries of some militant Islamists as the start of a "clash of civilizations."[1] Provocative messages always gain a disproportionate amount of public attention, but they must be carefully considered and put in context, especially in the aftermath of September 11.

It will surprise many Americans that Islam is the world's and America's fastest-growing religion. It continues to grow at a rate faster than that of the world's population. If current trends continue, according to some estimates, it will have more adherents by the year 2023 than any other.

Most Americans tend to think of Islam as exclusively a religion of Arabs. But Muslims are as diverse as humanity itself, representing one in five people in the world. Only 15 percent of the world's 1.2 billion Muslims are Arabs, while nearly one in three Muslims lives on the Indian subcontinent. The largest Muslim nation is Indonesia, with 160 million Muslims among its 200 million people. Muslims represent the majority population in more than 50 nations, and they also constitute important minorities in many other countries. Muslims comprise at least 10 percent of the Russian Federation's popula-

tion, 3 percent of China's population and 3 to 4 percent of Europe's population. Islam is the second largest religion in France and the third largest in both Germany and Great Britain. Although estimates vary widely, Muslims represent 1 or 2 percent of the United States population, and some say there are more Muslims than Jews or Episcopalians in America. Religious, cultural and population centers for Muslims, then, are no longer limited to such places as Mecca, Cairo, Baghdad, Teheran, Islamabad, Kuala Lumpur, Jakarta, Fez and Damascus—they also include Paris, Berlin, London and now New York, Detroit, Los Angeles and Washington, D.C.[2]

Many Americans do not know that there are Christian Arabs as well as Muslim Arabs. Indeed, some of the oldest Christian churches—including the Coptic Orthodox, Jacobite and Maronite churches—rose, functioned, and still do, in Arab countries.

Given America's role as a magnet for immigrants, it is not surprising that the United States is one of the best reflections of Muslim diversity. "It is of the greatest interest and significance that the Muslim *umma*, or community, of North America is as nearly a microcosm of the global umma as has ever occurred since Islam became a major religion," writes Lawrence H. Mamiya.[3] American Muslims bring a rich ethnic heritage from South Asian countries such as India, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Afghanistan; Southeast Asian countries such as Malaysia, Indonesia and the Philippines; all Arab nations, Iran and Turkey. American Muslims also add their African, Caribbean and European heritage to the nation's mix.[4]

With the United States currently being the world's sole military and economic superpower, I believe that we as a society have a responsibility—for our own sake as well as for others'—to know the complex nature of the world, its incredibly rich variety of races, nations, tribes, languages, economies, cultures and religions. Today, of course, Islam has become one of the major topics of discussion and controversy in the United States and elsewhere. Yet there is a disconnection between our passions about Islam and our knowledge of it.

It has become essential for us to understand Islam as a religion, its unity, diversity and culture—and to appreciate the legacy of Islamic civilizations, their role in the development of modern civilizations, the roles of Muslim nations and the challenges they face, and their future place and role in the world. Of course, this is much easier said than done, especially because in America today there is unfortunately no deep national commitment to history and heritage—not our own, and certainly not that of the world at large.

A Survey of Islam

To understand Islam, one has to appreciate the central role of Prophet Muhammad ibn Abdallah (570–632) in the formation and propagation of Islam as a religion. Muhammad was an Arab merchant, respected and wealthy, who belonged to the Qureish tribe in Mecca, then a great trading and religious center of pagan Arabia. His father had died before his birth, and his mother died in his early childhood. He was brought up by his grandfather and, after his death, by his uncle, Abu Talib, whose son Ali ibn Abi Talib became the Prophet's first disciple and later his son-in-law.

Muslims believe that Muhammad, following God's instructions through the Archangel

Gabriel, called humanity to a faith acknowledging *Allah*. Contrary to what many believe, Allah was not a new god, but simply the Arabic word for God—the God of Abraham, Moses, Jesus and Muhammad. According to Muslim tradition, the Prophet Muhammad brought a message of continuity with Judaism and Christianity to the polytheistic tribes of Arabia. His message was an uncompromising, non-idolatrous monotheism. The faith was *Islam*, the Arabic verb meaning "surrender" or "submission," as in surrendering to God's will. (Qur'an: "With God, the religion is Islam" and "It is a cult of your father, Abraham. He was the one who named you Muslims.")[5] *Muslim* is the active participle of the verb islam, meaning "I surrender."

In 622, having challenged the polytheist practices in Mecca, Muhammad fled for safety to Yatrib, subsequently named Medina, the City of the Prophet. This event, called the *Hijra*, marks the start of the Islamic era and of the Islamic calendar—2002 A.D. is 1423 A.H. or Anno Hegirae, the Year of the Hijra.[I]

Islam, like Judaism and Christianity, is a prophetic religion. It, too, emphasizes God's relationship to humanity and reveals God's will through the medium of prophets—with warnings of punishment that will befall those who reject the divine message or are guilty of the cardinal sin of idolatry. (The Qur'an: "Say ye: we believe in Allah, and the revelation given to us, and to Abraham, Ismail, Isaac, Jacob, and all the tribes. And, to that given to Moses and Jesus, and that given to [all] prophets from their Lord. We make no difference between one and another of them.")[6]

Muslims believe that the Prophet Muhammad received divine revelations from 610, starting in the ninth lunar month, *Ramadan*, until his death in 632 and that these oracles were transcribed during his lifetime and, within subsequent decades, were officially collected in the *Qur'an*, from the Arabic verb *qara'a*, meaning to recite, read or transmit. The Qur'an, which Muslims consider to be a supernatural text, has 114 chapters, *suras*, of varying lengths, from 3 to 286 lines, and they are arranged not in chronological or narrative order, but rather by their length, with the longest chapter near the beginning and the shortest chapter last.[7] Many non-Muslims will be surprised, on reading the Qur'an, to see the numerous references to biblical stories and figures. Writing about the universality of the Qur'an, the scholar Mohamed Talbi refers to a saying attributed to the Prophet Muhammad that the Qur'an is "God's Banquet," to which everyone is invited, but not obligated to attend—people should come to him out of love, not compulsion.[II] Muslims consider the Qur'an to be the revealed and eternal Word of God and believe that the Qur'an "completes and perfects" the revelations given to earlier prophets, including Moses and Jesus. Muslims maintain that Muhammad was the greatest prophet and that he was the last one.

Muslims also believe that since God spoke to Muhammad through the Archangel Gabriel in Arabic, translations of the Qur'an are hence considered to be mere "interpretations." Even though the vast majority of Muslims do not understand Arabic, only the original Arabic is used in Muslim prayers in the belief that the

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[I] Year 1 on the Muslim calendar starts with the Hijra, which is assumed to have taken place on July 16, 622, in the Julian calendar. Although 1,380 years (2002 minus 622) have passed in the Christian calendar, 1,423 years have passed in the Islamic lunar calendar, because its year is consistently shorter (by about 11 days) than the year used by the Gregorian calendar. The Islamic calendar, used primarily for religious purposes except in Saudi Arabia and some other countries, cannot be accurately printed in advance because it is based on human sightings of the lunar crescent, which vary depending on the observer's location, atmospheric conditions and local weather.

faithful can experience the presence of God by reading the Qur'an aloud. Some of the oldest surviving copies of the Qur'an apparently date from the start of the eighth century, but more than a thousand years passed before questions of spelling, structure of the text and rules for reading were finally formalized with its publication in Cairo between 1919 and 1928.[8]

The fundamental principles of Islam are *Towhid*, unity of God; *Nowbowat*, belief in the prophetic mission of Muhammad; and *Ma'ad*, belief in the day of judgment and resurrection. In addition, Islam has five cardinal tenets, called the *Pillars of Faith*, which all Muslims must observe. They must:

- bear witness, *Shihada*, that "there is no God but God, and Muhammad is his Prophet."
- pray five times a day as a regular reminder of their commitment to Islam. To symbolize the unity of the faithful, the earliest Muslims oriented their prayers toward Jerusalem and, later on, toward Mecca. Muslims must prostrate themselves in prayer, repeatedly touching their foreheads to the ground, to dispel arrogance and promote humility.
- give a portion of their income as tax, *zakat*, and one-fifth of their income, *khoums*, to the poor. The zakat, meaning "purification," is based on the concept that a society cannot be pure as long as there is hunger and misery.
- fast during the day for the whole month of Ramadan to experience hunger—that most visceral suffering of the poor.
- make at least one pilgrimage to Mecca, if physically and financially able.

In addition to the Qur'an and its Five Pillars, the study of Prophet Muhammad's life, known as the *sunna*, became a part of the Islamic faith, law and theology. This occurred because Muhammad was considered to be the Perfect Man, and though he was not deemed divine, his life eventually became a source of inspiration and a guide to practicing Muslims. "By imitating the smallest details of his external life and by reproducing the way he ate, washed, loved, spoke and prayed, Muslims hoped to be able to acquire his interior attitude of perfect surrender to God," writes Karen Armstrong.[9]

The sunna, the oral history of the Prophet, is the second most important source of Islamic law, after the Qur'an. The third source is the *hadith*, which consists of thousands of references to Prophet Muhammad's sayings and teachings that are documented through a reconstructed, uninterrupted chain of people, traced to his immediate family and entourage. The entire body of Islamic law is called the *Sharia*, or "the straight path to God." The Sharia has five main sources: the Qur'an, the sunna, the hadith, legal analogies based on the Qur'an and the hadith, and legal decisions that arise from consensus, in the belief that God would not allow the whole community to go astray.[10] (Some strict schools of Islamic law do not accord the latter two sources or even the hadith much weight.)

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[11] Talbi also writes that unlike some other religions, Islam does not blame Eve for Adam's alienation from God. There was no temptress, no concept of original sin—hence, a woman did not cause the fall of humanity. There were no serpents dividing men and women. In the Qur'an, Talbi points out, God created man and woman as *zawjaha*, a couple, one entity with the same soul. Talbi questions the interpretation of a line in the Qur'an that is often used to justify men having authority over women, and he also points out there is no Qur'anic obligation for women to cover their hair. The Qur'an asks that both men and women live decent, virtuous lives and that both enjoy the same justice. *See* Mohamed Talbi, *Universalité du Coran* (Arles: Actes Sud, 2002), pp. 7, 17, 22, 44, 47, 48. For a revisionist and modern interpretation of the position of women in Islam, *see* Fatima Mernissi, *The Veil and the Male Elite: A Feminist Interpretation of Women's Rights in Islam* (Reading, Mass: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, Inc., 1991). *See also* B.F. Musallam, *Sex and Society in Islam: Birth Control before the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), for a provocative account of the impact of birth control on the social, economic and demographic history of Islamic society.

The Qur'an singles out Jews and Christians as "People of the Book" and sets them apart from non-believers. After all, Jews and Christians, like Muslims, worshiped the transcendent God of Abraham. But the "Book" mentioned is not the Bible; it refers to a heavenly text, written by God, of which the Qur'an, according to Muslims, is the only perfect manifestation.[11]

As in Judaism and Christianity, Abraham, *Ibrahim*, occupies a central place in Islam. Abraham is at the root of all three religions: just as Jews trace their lineage to Abraham and his wife, Sarah, through their son, Isaac, the Arabs trace their genealogy to Abraham and Hagar—Sarah's Egyptian maid—through their son, Ishmael.[12] In the Qur'an, Abraham is recognized as the first Muslim because he surrendered to God rather than accept the idolatrous religion of his parents. There are more than 60 references to Abraham in the Qur'an, and he is called *Hanif*, a "True Monotheist," *Khalil*, a "Friend of God," and even Umma, "Muslim community," for initially he was the entire faith community. In every Muslim prayer, Ibrahim is mentioned.[13] Muslims believe that it was Abraham and Ishmael, *Ismail*, who rebuilt Islam's holiest shrine in Mecca—the *Kaaba*, believed to be the oldest monotheistic temple, which some Muslim traditions trace to Adam. The cube-shaped Kaaba is made of stone and marble, and its interior contains pillars and silver and gold lamps; it is entered only twice a year for a ritual cleansing ceremony.[14]

Moses is also considered to be a great prophet. His confrontation with the Egyptian pharaoh, his miracles in the desert and his ascension to the mountain to receive God's commandments are all acknowledged in the Qur'an.[15]

For Muslims, Jesus, *Isa*, is a great prophet and messenger of God—the promised Messiah who brought "the Word of God and Spirit from Him." Jesus is considered the son of the "sinless" Virgin Mary, *Maryam*, who is mentioned more often in the Qur'an than in the Bible.[16] Muslims believe that Jesus preached the Word of God and worked miracles; but like Jews, Muslims reject the Christian concept of Jesus as the divine son of God. Muslims consider that blasphemy, for they believe there is only one divinity, God. The crucifixion of Christ is mentioned in passing only, and the Qur'an states that Jesus did not die, but was rescued by God and taken to heaven.[17] In the end, Jesus and other prophets will descend to be at the final judgment. Muslims also believe that Jesus' true message had to have been distorted by his followers and that the Prophet Muhammad was sent to bring the definitive message of God.[18]

Of course, there are many important similarities and differences among the religions. To mention just a few more: Jews don't accept the New Testament, but Muslims do. The miracles of Jesus, his virgin birth and his second coming are accepted in Islam, but not in Judaism. Both Judaism and Islam put great importance on living according to a system of law—for Jews, the law is the Halakhah; for Muslims it is the Sharia.[19] In Christianity, which has the concept of original sin, humans are born as sinners; but in both Judaism and Islam, sin is not present at birth and accrues only through sinful activity. Both Judaism and Islam share similar dietary restrictions, including bans on eating pork or blood, though the Islamic rules are generally less restrictive than Judaism's.[20] And, as with Christian and Jewish children, Muslim children are freely given biblical names: Solomons and Sulaimans, Sarahs and

Sirahs, Josephs and Yusufs, Marys and Maryams, Jesuses and Isas, Johns and Yahyas, and Davids and Davuds, to cite a few.

The Phenomenal Spread of Islam

The early spread of Islam is one of the most dramatic chapters in all history. By 632, when Islam was only decades old and just solidifying into a religion, almost all the tribes of Arabia had converted to Islam or joined Prophet Muhammad's confederacy. Within less than a century of Islam's birth, the Muslim community had grown by conquest into one of the largest empires—one that lasted longer and, indeed, was bigger than the Roman Empire.[III] By 712, Muslim conquests extended from the Pyrenees to the Himalayas,[21] from the Iberian Peninsula in the west to the Indus Valley and Central Asia in the east.[22] Muslims advanced into Europe until stopped in 732 by Charles Martel, king of the Franks, in the Battle of Poitiers in western France.[23]

Historians point out that Islam arose at the right time and place. In the sixth and early seventh centuries, a power vacuum emerged after protracted wars between the Persian and Byzantine empires had weakened both. As Muslims conquered Palestine, Syria, Egypt and Armenia, they promoted conversion to Islam in several ways. They gave polytheists the option of conversion or death (the Qur'an: "Slay the polytheists wherever you find them. But if they repent, and perform the prayer, and pay the alms, then let them go their way; God is all-forgiving, all-compassionate").[24] Jews and Christians were not required to become Muslims; however, if they did not convert, they were tolerated as subjects but not given equality and were required to pay a burdensome tax, *jizya*, ostensibly to pay for Muslim protection. There were also voluntary conversions not only for religious reasons, but also for the practical reasons of securing social and economic advantages in an Islamic society. For many converts, Islam might have had a comforting familiarity, embracing as it did monotheism and biblical messages that Judaism and Christianity had spread for many centuries before Muhammad began preaching around 610. St. John of Damascus, who first chronicled Islam in the eighth century, regarded Islam not as a new religion, but as a branch of Christianity.[25]

Historians emphasize that Islam also spread rapidly because of its extraordinary acceptance of diversity from the beginning—reminding us that Islam grew organically and not as an inflexible religion. In some conquered lands of the Byzantine empire, we know that the inhabitants had been persecuted, sometimes oppressed and heavily taxed by Christian rulers, and some minorities naturally welcomed the new Muslim rulers with their relatively tolerant religious policies. Islam also appeared to be far more accommodating than Christianity to other cultures—so accommodating, in fact, that apart from the Five Pillars, the practice of Islam varied enormously from place to place and often included practices and beliefs that were not consistent with the Qur'an.[IV] The rich legacy of Islamic civilizations, historians argue, is due in part to its exceptional absorptive quality and relative tolerance for different cultures and ethnic traditions of civilizations from southern Europe to Central Asia.

[III] The Muslim conquests began under the second Caliph, Omar ibn Khattab, and expanded under Muawiyyah ibn Abi Sufyan of the Bani Ummayah tribe, founder of the Umayyad dynasty (661–680), who moved the Muslims' capital from Medina to Damascus. *See* Karen Armstrong, *Islam: A Short History* (New York: The Modern Library, 2000).

Early Divisions in Islam

Unlike Christians, who consider the Church to be the mystical body of Christ, Islam did not sustain a centralized organization. Instead, Prophet Muhammad's *khulafah*, Caliphs or successors, provided leadership, but succession disputes frequently arose and divided—and redivided—the faithful. Religious authority became increasingly dispersed among the *ulama*, scholars and clerics, in numerous Islamic denominations spread throughout Muslim realms.

The debate over succession began immediately after Prophet Muhammad's death, for he had left no indisputable instructions about the rules of succession or whether spiritual leaders were political leaders as well. Since Muhammad did not have a son, one faction wanted the Caliph to be elected from the ranks of respected leaders in the umma, the Muslim community. A rival group contended that the leadership should be confined to the Prophet's immediate family and descendants. His closest surviving male relative was Ali ibn Abi Talib, who was both a cousin and the husband of his daughter, Fatima, as well as the father of two of Muhammad's grandchildren, Hasan and Husayn.[26]

We know from history that, in this instance, election won out over heredity. But before the century was over, much Muslim blood was to be spilled in civil wars tied to the widening rifts over succession and legitimacy. Muhammad's first successor was Abu Bakr, a compromise candidate because he was an honored leader as well as one of Muhammad's fathers-in-law. Abu Bakr was the first of the four "Rightly Guided Caliphs," as the first leaders are known. All four had been close companions of the Prophet and were considered authoritative sources of information about the Prophet's life and teachings.[27] Abu Bakr died a natural death, but the next three Rightly Guided Caliphs were all assassinated: Umar ibn al-Khattab in 644; Uthman ibn Affan in 656; and Ali ibn Abi Talib, Muhammad's son-in-law, in 661. These assassinations sparked violent conflicts or outright wars.

Indeed, the theological and political consequences of these struggles over succession were far-reaching. After Ali's assassination, *Shiat Ali*, the Party of Ali, created its own *Shii* branch of Islam. Initially, the break was over the succession dispute, with the Shii favoring a succession based on blood ties to the Prophet. Muslims who favored an elective system came to be known as *Sunni*, taking their name from sunna, which in this context refers to the customs, actions and sayings attributed to the Prophet and the first four Caliphs.[28] (Otherwise, sunna refers only to the Prophet's sayings and deeds.)[29] Early divisions in Islam ultimately resulted in scores of Muslim denominations.[30]

But calling this break a dispute over succession does not nearly tell the whole story. In his recent book, Khalid Durán notes, "The conflict between Sunnism and Shi'ism resembles that between Judaism and Christianity. Just as Christians have held Jews responsible for the killing of Christ, Shi'is hold Sunnis responsible for the killing of 'Alî and his sons, Hasan and

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[IV] As an example of Islam's flexibility, Hindus in the Indian subcontinent converted to Islam and continued to observe numerous class distinctions, ranging from noblemen to untouchables, even though such practices clearly contradicted Qur'anic injunctions for an egalitarian society. Caste systems continue to operate in Muslim India; *see* Celia W. Dugger, "Indian Town's Seed Grew into the Taliban's Code," *The New York Times*, February 23, 2002, p. A3. The issue of slavery also posed challenges for Islam. *See* Allan G. B. and Humphrey J. Fisher, *Slavery in the History of Muslim Black Africa* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), and Ronald Segal, *Islam's Black Slaves: The Other Black Diaspora* (Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2001).

[Husayn]." *'Âshûrâ'*, for example, is a religious holiday for both Shii and Sunni, but while the Shii mourn the anniversary of Husayn's assassination, the Sunni have joyful celebrations commemorating God's mercy in delivering the Israelites from Egyptian bondage—Passover in Judaism.[31]

Islam also developed a mystical component, called *Sufism*, that drew followers—as well as fierce and sometimes violent adversaries—from both Shii and Sunni Muslims. Sufism is named after the coarse shirts of wool, *souf*, worn by early ascetics who were reformers and, according to some mainstream Muslims, heretics.[32]

Even a thumbnail sketch of each of the three main Muslim denominations conveys a sense of Islam's complexity as a religion:

Sunni Muslims

The Sunni represent the overwhelming majority of Muslims, but Sunni doctrine has long been a source of dispute. In the eighth and ninth centuries, there was a major theological conflict among the Sunni that has echoed throughout Islamic history. On one side, some schools of theology were led by *Mu'tazilite* scholars in Basra and Baghdad. They used rational proofs for God and the universe, as they sought to harmonize reason with Muslim scriptures, proclaiming—blasphemously, to some—that the Qur'an was man-made and was not an eternal truth revealed by God.[v] The Mu'tazilite scholars called for a rational theology, arguing that God has a rational nature and that moral laws and free will were part of the unchangeable essence of reason. The movement was the result of the encounter of Islam with earlier civilizations—Persian and Greco-

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[v] There is relatively little contemporary research about the origins of the Qur'an, and to some degree, research efforts have been dampened by both "political correctness" and fear of retribution—such as Ayatullah Khomeini's 1989 *fatwa* (decree) condemning Salman Rushdie to death for writing *Satanic Verses*. But a number of scholars have taken a revisionist look at Islamic history. *See* Patricia Crone and Michael Cook, *Hagarism: The Making of the Islamic World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977); Patricia Crone, *Meccan Trade and the Rise of Islam* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987); and Patricia Crone, in Francis Robinson, ed., *The Cambridge Illustrated History of the Islamic World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999). Patricia Crone, a professor of history at the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton University, says it is paradoxical that Muhammad, who many believe to have been an illiterate merchant in a remote and pagan land, would have known so much about Abraham, Moses and other prophets—unless, she says, one believes, as faithful Muslims do, that the Archangel Gabriel revealed this history to Muhammad. For a discussion of trends in scholarly work in revising Islamic history, *see* Martin Bright, "The Great Koran Con Trick," *New Statesman*, December 10, 2001, pp. 25–27. Bright's summary of revisionist conclusions suggests: "That we know almost nothing about the life of Prophet Mohammad; that the rapid rise of the religion can be attributed, at least in part, to the attraction of Islam's message of conquest and jihad for the tribes of the Arabian peninsula; that the [Qur'an] as we know it today was compiled, or perhaps even written, long after Mohammad's supposed death in 632 A.D. Most controversially of all, the researchers say that there existed an anti-Christian alliance between Arabs and Jews in the earliest days of Islam, and that the religion may be best understood as a heretical branch of rabbinical Judaism."

The *New Statesman* also quotes a terse rebuttal from Ziauddin Sardar, a Muslim intellectual: "Eurocentrism of the most extreme, purblind kind, which assumes that not a single word written by Muslims can be accepted as evidence." Suggesting that the Qur'an had human authors is, of course, as blasphemous to Muslims as the Qur'an's denial of Jesus' divinity is to Christians.

A new scholarly work, written under the pseudonym Christopher Luxenberg and recently published in Berlin (Verlag Das Arabische Buch), was recently discussed on page 1 of *The New York Times*. Luxenberg argues that the Qur'an is based on earlier Christian Aramaic manuscripts, which were later misinterpreted by Islamic scholars. Luxenberg notes that the original text of the Qur'an was written without vowels or accent marks, requiring Islamic scholars in the eighth and ninth centuries to make clarifications—and, he says, allowing errors to be introduced. For example, he asserts that Aramaic descriptions of paradise, which seem to be echoed in the Qur'an, portray paradise as a lush garden with pooling water and trees with rare fruit, including white raisins—raisins, *not* virgin maidens, as promised in the Qur'an and, nowadays, allegedly offered as a lure by militant Islamists to suicide bombers in Palestine. Other historians note that there is no sign of the Qur'an until 691, or 59 years after Muhammad's death. *See* Alexander Stille, "Scholars Are Quietly Offering New Theories of the Koran," *The New York Times*, March 2, 2002, p. A1.

For a Muslim response to questions of the Qur'an's authenticity, *see* Abdur-Raheem Green, "Uncomfortable Questions: An Authoritative Exposition," *Muslim Answers*, www.muslim-answers.org/expo-01.htm, and www.muslim-answers.org/expo-02.htm.

Roman—and especially with the traditions of Greek philosophy.

A few early Caliphs tried to enforce this rational approach as the exclusive interpretation of Islam. Had they been successful, they would also have solidified their authority not only as political leaders, but also as the final arbiters of religious law. But in 848, after several decades of Mu'tazilism being the Caliphate's official doctrine, Caliph al-Mutawakkil succumbed to widespread opposition from the ulama, the religious establishment. As the Caliphate saw its religious authority chipped away, the Caliphs' claim to rule as successors of the Prophet came under increasing attack from the ulama. The resulting loss of a central religious authority meant that, for Sunni Muslims, there would be many interpreters within the ulama at many theological centers in many regions.

Shii Muslims

Shii believe that Ali, the Prophet's son-in-law, was divinely inspired and infallible in his interpretations of the Qur'an and the Prophet's teachings and that only his descendants possessed the sacred blood ties and religious knowledge to qualify as *Imams*, the Shii's exemplary leaders.

Hence, according to Shii theology, called *Imami*, the line of succession passed through Ali and Fatima; and the Imam could be any male descendant of their sons, Hasan and Husayn. Difficulties arose after Ali and Fatima's elder son, Hasan, died in 669, and their second son, Husayn, along with relatives and friends, was assassinated in 680 in the Battle of Karbala, after challenging the authority of Caliph Yazid ibn Muawiyyah to rule and asserting his right to the Prophet's succession. Ali's third son (with another wife), Hanafiyya, died in 700. Shii sects developed around each son, the *Hanafids*, the *Husaynids* and the *Hasanids*. Other denominations also emerged around other branches of the Prophet's clan.

Succession disputes were intensified when there was more than one male descendant; in one instance, Muhammad al-Baqir, the fifth Imam, denied his brother's claim to be Imam by asserting that he, like prior Imams, had a mystical ability to interpret the Qur'an and had also been anointed by his father. His brother, Zayd ibn Ali, challenged that view and developed his own following.[33] The *Zaydis* are one of three major Shii sects:

The Zaydis. They believed that the Imam could be *any* male descendant of Ali and Fatima's sons, Hasan and Husayn. The Imam was also expected to be a learned man, namely an expert in Islamic law, as well as an able warrior. But unlike some other sects, they did not believe the Imam was infallible. More than one Imam can be present, in different territories, and an Imam can be deposed if deemed sinful. During times when there was no Imam—as is the case now in Yemen, where most Zaydis live—spiritual leadership was vested in Zaydi scholars until a new Imam arrived.

The Ismailis. In the eighth century, there was a Shii conflict over which son of Imam Ja'far al-Sadiq should succeed him: Ismail ibn Ja'far or his younger brother, Musa al-Kazim. Each brother developed his own following. Ismail's followers—Ismailis—revere him as the last of Ali and Fatima's descendants. The Ismailis, unlike the Zaydis, consider the Imam infallible. Another major succession dispute, also between two brothers, arose in the 11th century and split the Ismailis into two major

denominations—one led today by the Aga Khan and another denomination known as the Buhura Ismailis.[34] Many smaller Ismaili sects appeared as well.[VI]

The Twelvers. While the Ismailis followed Ismail ibn Ja'far and his descendants, the Twelver Shii followed the lineage of his brother, Musa al-Kazim. The Twelver Shii had many conflicts with Sunni Muslims, who kept several of the Twelver Imams under house arrest. Many Imams were apparently poisoned as well, including the 11th Imam. The 12th Imam, a young boy, disappeared in 874. Followers of the 12th Imam—hence, Twelvers—believe that God rescued him, that he was "occluded," taken up, and that he will return as a messiah to restore peace and justice in the world. Until he returns, political and religious authority are exercised, fallibly, by the clergy; in order of rising rank, they include *mujtahids, hujjatu-l-islam, ayatullah, ayatullah 'uzma* and, the highest rank, *marja'-e-taqlîd*, the one who sets the norms to be followed. Ayatullah, meaning "sign of God," is used only among Shii in Iran; it first appeared in the 18th century, invented by a king who, like monarchs everywhere then, coined and sold titles, including ayatullah.[35] (Ayatullah 'Uzma Ruhollah Khomeini, who led the 1979 revolution in Iran, was often called "Imam." This was an innovation because, unlike in Sunni Islam, in Twelver Shii Islam the term *Imam* refers only to the twelve Imams. Ayatullah Khomeini stressed the point that he was imam only in the sense of prayer leader and spiritual guide and nothing more.)[36]

The Shii, and especially the Twelvers, have developed a vast and complex religious hierarchy that may be comparable, in some ways, to the structure of Christian churches. In this regard, the Shii are also very different from the Sunni, who, somewhat inconsistently, have many religious leaders but no religious hierarchy of such complexity; they consider Islam to be a decentralized religion.[37] Indeed, it is this decentralization that gives rise to persistent questions about who has authority to speak for Islam.

Twelvers believed that religious principles could be found through use of God-given reason, though these principles could not contradict the Qur'an or sayings of the Prophet or the twelve Imams—for these sacred texts were believed to contain all the rules of reason. The Twelver legal school was developed by Imam Ja'far al-Sadiq, the sixth Imam—hence the name *Ja'fari* for the law school. The Ja'fari accorded equal weight to the behavior and

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[VI] A radical, militant wing of Ismailis did not shy away from assassinating Sunni leaders in the 11th century. They were called *Hashishin*—hence our word *assassin*—because, their enemies claimed, these fighters used the drug hashish before they attacked, always with daggers and often losing their own lives in the process, lore has it. (Karen Armstrong, *Islam: A Short History* [New York: The Modern Library, 2000], pp. 69, 87; *see also* Bernard Lewis, "The Revolt of Islam," *The New Yorker*, November 19, 2001, p. 61.) Another Shii sect, the *Druze*, in western Syria and Lebanon, is named after an Ismaili missionary, al-Darazi, who proclaimed the divinity of the sixth Fatimid Caliph, Abu 'Ali al-Mansur al-Hakim, who ruled in Egypt in the 11th century. The Druze, who were attacked by both Sunni and Shii as heretics, were so secretive that the tenets of their faith were not widely known until early in the 19th century (*see* Jane I. Smith, *Islam in America* [New York: Columbia University Press, 1999], p. 64).

sayings of the infallible Imams and to those of the Prophet. In addition, other ulama advocated varying levels of independent reason as acceptable in applying the hadith and Qur'an to issues of the day. On one side, the *Usulis* felt free to use analogies and rationality in interpreting the sacred texts; at the other end of the spectrum, the *Akhbaris* insisted on a strict, literal reading. The Twelver denomination has about 140 million members in more than a dozen nations today. Twelver Shiism became the official religion of Iranians during the Safavid empire in the early 16th century. Currently, there are also Twelvers in Pakistan, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain and other oil-rich countries.[38]

Sufi Muslims

Within its many denominations, Sufism developed in the 10th century as an early effort to reform Islam, in part by emphasizing spiritual rewards in the afterlife rather than material gains in this life, and in part by challenging literal, legalistic approaches to Islam and the Qur'an. Sufis seek to commune directly with God through meditation, ritual chanting and even dance (the *Mevlavi* Sufis were famously known as the whirling dervishes). Some Sufis even worshiped Jesus and others worshiped Muhammad—practices considered polytheistic and blasphemous to mainstream Muslims, who sometimes persecuted the Sufis.[39] Yet Sufis often served as Islam's most energetic missionaries in addition to their many contributions to Muslim literature, especially love poetry, in Arabic, Turkish, Persian and Urdu.[40] Khalid Durán calls Sufism Islam's "counterculture."[41]

This cursory description of Islam's denominations illustrates the wide and deep theological divisions within what might appear from the outside as a monolithic religion. These divisions, in turn, led to extremely complex and varied theological and political differences even within mainstream Sunni Islam.

Stopping New Efforts to Interpret the Qur'an and Hadith

The efforts of the ulama to formalize Islamic doctrine for mainstream Sunni Muslims led to the emergence of four prominent schools of Islamic law in the eighth and ninth centuries. The four Sunni schools made a religious science out of hadith by checking the authenticity of each link in the chain of sources of oral history and by resolving discrepancies in reports on the Prophet's words and deeds.[VII] The schools, still influential today, are the *Hanafi* (named after Abu Hanifah, who was born in Central Asia), which is now followed in parts of South Asia, Turkey, the Russian Federation with the exception of the North Caucasus, southeastern Europe, China, Central and West Asia and parts of the Middle East; *Maliki* (named after Malik ibn Anas), which is followed in North and West Africa and in some southern parts of the Middle East; *Shafi* (named after Muhammad ibn Idris al-Shafi),

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[VII] This research is a daunting task, as suggested by the following hadith, which is a narrative about sins, that was passed down through half a dozen sources: "Hisham ibn 'Ummar said that Sadaqa ibn Khalid told him that 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Yazid told him that 'Atiya ibn Qays al-Kilabi told him that 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Ghanm al-Ash'ari told him that Abu 'Amir or Abu Malik al-Ash'ari who, by God, did not lie to him, said that he heard the Prophet saying: 'Among my people, there will be some who will consider illicit sex, wearing silk, drinking wine, and playing musical instruments as permitted. There will also be some people who will dwell near the side of a hill. Someone will deliver their roving animals to them, coming to them out of a need. They will say to him to come back tomorrow. God will plot against them at night and will let the hill crush them and He will change the rest of them into monkeys and pigs leaving them like that until the day of resurrection.'" Andrew Rippin and Jan Knappert, eds. and trans., *Textual Sources for the Study of Islam* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), p. 74.

which is followed in the coastal areas of South Asia, East Africa, East Asia, Egypt and some parts of the Middle East; and *Hanbali* (named after Ahmad ibn Hanbal), which is followed mostly in Saudi Arabia.

The schools varied in their amount of leeway in interpreting Sharia, Islamic law, and whether those interpretations could be made by individual scholars or had to be endorsed by a consensus of scholars.[42] The Malikis and the Hanbalis read the scripture and hadith quite literally, scorning the use of human reason as it was employed by the other two, more interpretative schools. The Hanafis used analogy and reason, especially in untangling conflicting statements attributed to the Prophet. The Shafis sought to concentrate on the most authentic oral reports and looked to find a consensus among scholars on interpretive rulings.[43] The issue was—and still is—extremely important, because such interpretations became part of the Sharia, which Muslims consider to be the divinely revealed law of Islam.

In the 10th century, orthodox Sunni ulama argued that there had been enough of this independent reasoning and warned that it could not continue without distorting Islam. They maintained that the Sharia was completely and finally assembled within three centuries of Muhammad's death and it was time to "close the gates of *ijtihad*," or rational interpretation. This argument gained ground and was finally formalized in the 14th century when Sunni ulama agreed that contemporary questions could be answered only by a literal reading of the Sharia and not by new interpretation.[44]

But many Muslim reformers, from the 11th century on, objected to such a "mechanistic," literal approach to scripture and argued that the schools of law were too rigid in defining Sharia. Much debate has centered around the hadith, with reformers questioning the vast number of oral histories, the often conflicting interpretations of the hadith and the ulama's ability to verify the Prophet's sayings as they were passed down through the ages by his friends, family and community members. Reformers in the past, and especially in the 19th century, attempted to portray the hadith as parables, not to be construed as religious doctrine or law—and certainly not to be used to diminish the exercise of God-given reason in addressing contemporary challenges. Different approaches to Sharia not only divided Sunni, but also sharpened the divisions and struggles between Sunni and Shii.[VIII] That is because the Sunni believe the Sharia is complete, while the Shii consider it to be evolving jurisprudence.[45]

Muslim Empires and the Golden Age of Islam

The early formative period of the Muslim empire was followed by the Abbasid Caliphate (750–1258), named after Caliph Abu al-Abbas al-Saffah,[46] who claimed descent from an uncle of Muhammad's.[47] He transferred the seat of power from Damascus to Baghdad and inaugurated what is known as the Golden Age of Islamic civilization. This Golden Age is no mere footnote in Islamic history, for, arguably, "Islamic" civilization was essentially human civilization—one that, like prior Greek and

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[VIII] In the 11th and 12th centuries, the Sunni in Afghanistan crucified Shii Ismaili "heretics," exiled Mu'tazilite scholars and burned their philosophical and scientific books. Sunni Seljuq Turks in Central Asia also sought to stamp out science and philosophy along with other "heresies." Mutual persecution continued unabated during the subsequent rule of the Ottomans, who oppressed the Shii, and the Safavids, who imposed Twelver Shiism as the state religion of Iran in 1501 and deported or executed the Sunni.

Roman civilizations, embraced and thrived on all human achievement. As such, we are just beginning to recognize the enormous influence that Islam's Golden Age had on Western Christendom, as W. Montgomery Watt reminds us:

> It is clear that the influence of Islam on Western Christendom is greater than is usually realized. Not only did Islam share with Western Europe many material products and technological discoveries; not only did it stimulate Europe intellectually in the fields of science and philosophy; but it provoked Europe into forming a new image of itself. Because Europe was reacting against Islam, it belittled the influence [of Muslim scholarship].... So today, an important task for our Western Europeans, as we move into the era of the one world, is to correct this false emphasis and to acknowledge fully our debt to the Arab and Islamic world.[48]

During those five "golden" centuries, Muslim realms became the world's unrivaled intellectual centers of science, medicine, philosophy and education. The Abbasids championed the role of knowledge and are renowned for such enlightened achievements as creating a "House of Wisdom" in Baghdad, the city they built on the banks of the Tigris River. At this Abbasid institute, Muslim and non-Muslim scholars[49]—including Nestorian Christians and star-worshiping Sabians—sought to translate all the world's knowledge into Arabic. Classic works by Aristotle, Archimedes, Euclid, Hypocrites, Plutarch, Ptolemy and others were translated. Christian monks translated the Bible into Arabic, and many Jewish philosophers wrote in Arabic.

Without these Arabic translations, it is interesting to note, many classic works of antiquity would have been lost. Furthermore, from the 11th to the 13th centuries, many Arabic translations of classic works were, in turn, translated into Turkish, Persian, Hebrew and Latin. The 13th-century Catholic theologian St. Thomas Aquinas, for example, apparently made his famous integration of faith and reason after reading Aristotle's philosophy in a translation by Abbasid scholars, including Abu Ali ibn Sina, known in the West as Avicenna.[50] Avicenna was an 11th-century philosopher and physician who wrote an encyclopedia of philosophy and some 200 influential treatises on medicine, including one on ethics, which were widely read in Europe. Abu al-Walid Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Rushd, better known in the West as Averroës, was a preeminent authority on Aristotle as well as a judge and a physician. This 12th-century philosopher is also known for having synthesized Greek and Arabic philosophies. Meanwhile, al-Farabi tried to show that the ideal political system envisaged in Plato's utopia and in the divine law of Islam were one and the same.

Not merely translators, the Abbasids collected, synthesized and advanced knowledge, building their own civilization from intellectual gifts from many cultures, including the Chinese, Indian, Iranian, Egyptian, North African, Greek, Spanish, Sicilian and Byzantine. This Islamic period was indeed a cauldron of cultures, religions, learning and knowledge—one that created great civilizations and influenced others from Africa to China. This Golden Age has been hailed for its open embrace of a universal science, no matter the source—believing that there was not a

"Christian science," "Jewish science," "Muslim science," "Zoroastrian science" or "Hindu science." There was just one science for the Abbasids, who were apparently influenced by numerous Qur'anic references to learning about the wonders of the universe as a way to honor God. Thus, reason and faith, both being God-given, were combined, mutually inclusive and supportive. Islam was anything but isolationist, and Abbasids connected to all cultural traditions, believing as they did that learning was universal, and not confined to their own domain. Non-Muslims—as well as today's doctrinaire Muslims who preach against "Western" values and "Western" science—may be shocked by the Abbasids' receptiveness to science and philosophies that challenged orthodoxy.

According to Ismail Serageldin, "The search for Knowledge ('Ilm) and Truth (Haq) are an integral and undeniable part of the Muslim tradition. The pursuit of knowledge is the single most striking feature in a system of great revelation such as Islam. The word 'Ilm (knowledge) and its derivatives occur 880 times in the [Qur'an]. But knowledge is not perceived as neutral. It is the basis for better appreciating truth (Haq), which is revealed but which can be 'seen' by the knowledgeable in the world around them. Indeed, believers are enjoined to look around and to learn the truth. The Prophet exhorted his followers to seek knowledge as far as China, then considered to be the end of the earth. Scientists are held in high esteem: the Prophet said that the ink of scientists is equal to the blood of martyrs."[51]

The Abbasids were not alone in the Islamic pursuit of knowledge. Rival Muslim dynasties known as *Fatimids* in Egypt and Umayyads in al-Andalus, or Islamic Spain, were also intellectual and cultural centers during parts of this period.[52] Al-Andalus, captured from its Gothic rulers, became part of the Islamic empire in 714 and rivaled Baghdad and Cairo in scholarship. Córdoba, Andalus's capital, is believed to have had 70 libraries, including one in the Alcázar with 400,000 volumes. Religious freedom, although limited, helped attract Jewish and Christian intellectuals and, interestingly, spawned the greatest period of creativity in philosophy during the Middle Ages as 11th- and 12th-century networks of Muslim, Jewish and Christian philosophers interacted.[53] Andalus was a great literary center, and its poetry about courtly, chaste and chivalrous relationships has even been credited with helping shape European ideas about romantic love.[54]

Together, Abbasid, Fatimid and Andalusi scholars opened up new fields of study and significantly advanced the knowledge of astronomy, architecture, art, botany, ethics, geography, history, literature, mathematics, music, mechanics, medicine, mineralogy, philosophy, physics and even veterinary medicine and zoology. During the Abbasid period, mathematicians pioneered integral calculus and spherical trigonometry, promoted the use of the "Arabic numerals" 0 through 9, and gave the world *al-jabr*, our algebra. In science, the Abbasids revised Ptolemaic astronomy, named stars, developed *al-kemia*, our chemistry, and demonstrated that science was, well, a science. Some may also thank, or damn, Abbasids for *al-kuhl*, our alcohol, which they learned to distill but were subsequently forbidden to drink.

Education was a high priority in Muslim empires during this period. By the 10th century, there were thousands of schools at *mosques*, places for kneeling, including 300 in Baghdad alone. A number of libraries gath-

ered manuscripts from around the world, and schools that would become universities were established. Under the Fatimids, a Cairo mosque that opened for prayers in 972 eventually grew into the University of Al-Azhar, the oldest university in the Mediterranean.[55]

The Abbasids' great learning centers were not confined to Medina, Basra, Kufa and Damascus—and while Baghdad remained the cultural capital of Islamic realms from the 11th century to the middle of the 13th century, we see the proliferation of cultural and intellectual centers in such cities as Jerusalem, Cairo, Kairouan, Fez, Córdoba, Toledo and Seville—as well as in many cities of Iran, Afghanistan and Central Asia, such as Nishapur, Merv, Bukhara, Samarkand, Balkh, Herat, Ghazna, Rayy, Shiraz, Hamadan and Isfahan. In other words, Islam never organized itself for action as a civilization except, perhaps, in its formative period.

Fragmentation of Political Power

But even in Islam's Golden Age, we witness fragmentation of political power. For there was not one, but three Caliphates—Abbasids, Fatimids and Umayyads in Spain—that ruled Muslim societies.

In 909, Shii Muslims of the Ismaili denomination established a Caliphate-Imam in Tunisia under leaders who claimed descent from the Prophet's son-in-law, Ali, and his daughter, Fatima—hence their name, Fatimids. As mentioned earlier, the Fatimids' and Umayyads' sponsorship of science and education helped make this period Islam's Golden Age. The Fatimids captured Egypt in 969 and established their capital, al-Qahira—the "Victorious City"—Cairo.[56] The dynasty's rule at one time extended to the Mediterranean, North Africa, Syria, Iran and India, and it lasted until 1171, when the last Fatimid Caliph was deposed.[57] It was Salah al-Din Yusuf ibn Ayyub, a Kurdish general known in the West as Saladin, who defeated the Fatimids in Egypt and brought the region's population back into the fold of Sunni Islam. Later, Saladin gained fame for defeating the Crusaders and recapturing Jerusalem in 1187. Saladin's Ayyubid dynasty (1171–1250) ruled over Egypt, Syria and Yemen, and it ended when members of its army, predominantly slaves called *Mamluks*, revolted and created their own empire in the Near East.[58]

In 929, 20 years after the Fatimid Caliph-Imam was established, another Caliphate sprang up in al-Andalus, Islamic Spain. Abd al-Rahman III, who traced his ancestry to the Umayyad Caliphate that the Abbasids had overthrown, proclaimed himself Caliph. He assumed the title "Commander of the Faithful" and asserted independence from the Abbasid Caliphate in Baghdad and the newly independent Fatimid Caliphs. He and his descendants ruled as Caliphs in Córdoba until 1031, when the Caliphate was officially abolished as the central government collapsed amid infighting among regional leaders.[59]

In addition to Caliphates, other regional dynasties—kingdoms unto themselves—rose, fell and reconstituted themselves again and again over the centuries under new rulers. Notable among them in the early centuries of Islam were various Iranian and Turkic dynasties, including the *Samanids* and the *Shii Buyids*. The latter conquered Baghdad but maintained the Abbasid Caliphate.[60]

West and East Clash over Territory

Much has been made of the early encounters between Muslim armies and the Crusaders and the wars' impact on the course of history in the Middle East and subsequent relations between Christians and Muslims. The facts, however, do not fit easily into ideological patterns. We know that the Seljuq Turks invaded the Christian empire of Byzantium, setting off a chain of events that led to the Crusades—which history shows were mostly territorial wars camouflaged in religious garb and language and carried out under the symbol of the cross. Initially, the Byzantine emperor sought help fighting off the Seljuq Turks from Pope Urban II, who in turn wanted to strengthen his moral and political authority by capturing Jerusalem. Muslims had conquered the city in 638, and though they were generally tolerant of non-Muslims, one Caliph-Imam, al-Hakim bi-Amr Allah, had ordered the destruction of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem and some other churches and convents in Egypt and Sinai during his 25-year reign, which ended in 1021.[61]

In launching the "holy war" against Muslims, the Pope declared, "God wills it!" The Church promised Christian soldiers fighting in this war that, win or lose, they would have all sins forgiven and a welcome in heaven—the kind of blanket guarantees that encouraged, and continues to encourage, "holy warriors" of every religion to commit crimes and atrocities. At the time, the Crusaders were known to Muslims for what they were: Franks, a German-speaking Christian empire that ruled present-day France. They led their armies into what would later be called the First Crusade. They captured Jerusalem in 1099, massacring, enslaving or expelling its non-Christian inhabitants—Jews and Muslims alike. But as we know, the Crusades rapidly degenerated into intra-Christian wars,[62] for Europeans were just as eager to seize and plunder the lands of Christian Byzantium as the Muslim Turks had been. It's ironic that, in doing so, the Christian West set the stage for the eventual collapse of the Byzantine empire and its loss to the Ottoman Turks. In 1187, Saladin defeated the Crusaders at the Battle of Hattin and recaptured Jerusalem.[63] As we know, in the Third Crusade, Saladin's troops surrendered, in a stalemate, to Richard I ("the Lion-Hearted") in 1191 on the Mediterranean at the city of Acre. They divided up the territory, with Muslims keeping Jerusalem but promising to accommodate Christian pilgrims.

The fact is that the Crusaders did not terminate the Abbasid Caliphate and its Golden Age of Muslim civilizations. It ended, finally, in 1258, when Baghdad was destroyed by the Mongol hordes, one of the world's most brutal conquerors, who created the biggest empire in history. Their territory extended at various times to Eastern Europe, China, Korea, Mongolia, Persia, Turkestan, Armenia, Russia, Burma, Vietnam and Thailand. Before reaching Baghdad, the Mongols had already destroyed many Muslim cities under the ruthless and skilled leadership of Genghis Khan and his descendants. To encourage their foes to surrender without a fight, the Mongols used "state-of-the-art" military strategies that included the destruction of all stored grain, the obliteration of irrigation systems, the razing of cities and towns, the systematic massacre of local populations, the stacking of victims' skulls in huge pyramids and the use of civilian prisoners as human shields—and even as human bridges, to enable Mongols to cross moats of newly besieged cities.

The Mongol invasion was so catastrophic, it created a sense of doomsday for Muslims—after all, the faithful were being crushed by "infidels," creating a great crisis of confidence. At the same time, some historians have argued, the Mongol invasions, after initially paralyzing Muslim societies, subsequently provided a long stretch of peace—the so-called Pax Mongolica—across a vast stretch of territory that allowed the resilient Muslim societies not only to reemerge, but to flourish.[64] Following their conquests, the Mongols rebuilt many Muslim cities, created dazzling courts and, to some degree, picked up where the Abbasids, Fatimids and Umayyads left off in promoting science, art and scholarship.

Indeed, it is one of history's great landmarks that the Mongols converted to Islam—a conversion that saved the Muslim power and realms, changing the course of history. Their conversion was also relatively swift. By the early 14th century, all four of the Mongol realms had adopted Islam.

Rise and Fall of the Ottomans

The emergence of European commercial and political power in the Mediterranean in the 15th century coincided with the rise of the Muslim Ottoman empire. The Ottomans became the most powerful of western Muslim rulers, capturing Constantinople in 1453. They won battles with a highly trained corps of converted slaves and new weapons that used gunpowder. In their march through the 15th and 16th centuries, the Ottomans conquered Egypt, Syria, Hungary, Cyprus and Rhodes, eventually creating one of the largest empires in history.

Coinciding with the rise of the Ottoman empire, from the 15th century through the 17th century, two other empires emerged: the Safavids in Iran and the Mughals[IX] (Persian for Mongols) in India. Other emergent powers included the sultans of Morocco and the Uzbeks in Central Asia. Actually, even within these realms, we see the emergence of semi-independent dynasties in the regions of the Caspian Sea, the Black Sea, Central Asia, Afghanistan, India and equatorial Africa. The key point is that even at this height of Muslim power, there was no single Muslim umma, or community, and the Turkish, Arabic, Iranian and Indian realms had divided the unity of Islam politically, culturally and economically while retaining only the unity of the fundamental precepts and Five Pillars of Islam.

The first major manifestation of Muslim military weakness occurred in 1571, when

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[IX] One of the most famous Mughal emperors was Akbar the Great (1543–1605), generally considered the founder of the Mughal empire. He is best known for his religious tolerance. He abolished the jizya, the tax on non-Muslims, built his capital around the tomb of a Sufi saint, invited theologians from other faiths to discussions and married two Hindu princesses. "No man should be interfered with on account of his religion," Akbar once said. He even promoted a kind of ecumenical faith that blended Islam, Brahmanism, Christianity and Zoroastrianism, but it did not catch on, and he himself died a Muslim. *See* Vincent Smith, *Akbar, the Great Moghul* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1917), p. 257. *Also see* "Akbar the Great," www.kamat.com/kalranga/mogul/akbar.htm.

Spanish and Venetian fleets defeated the Ottomans in a naval battle off Lepanto, Greece—a victory that was captured in heroic paintings by Tintoretto and Veronese. The second major loss was the Turks' unsuccessful siege of Vienna, in 1683. However, the empire's actual disintegration began with its first territorial concession in the 1699 Treaty of Carlowicz, when it ceded Hungary to Austria,[65] followed by a treaty with France and the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca in 1774, imposed on the empire by Russia.[66] It was not the loss of territory so much as the fact that, beginning with the treaties, European powers began to obtain economic, commercial and political concessions from the Ottoman empire as well as from the Iranian and Mughal Indian empires. These concessions, known later as capitulations, became the engine of Europe's political, economic and military domination of the Muslim realms. European nation-states were also gaining dominance by modernizing their economies, using new military technologies and centralizing their political authorities.

From the 18th century on, then, we see the gradual stagnation or decline of all three remaining Muslim empires, which were hamstrung by their increasing insularity, their inability to control the flow of trade along international trade routes and their limited ability to take advantage of technological innovation during the Industrial Revolution. Through invasion, colonization or economic dominance, the British controlled much of India, the Russians defeated the Ottomans in Crimea, and France occupied Egypt.[67] The first two major challenges against the Ottoman empire in the Middle East were Napoleon's invasion of Egypt in 1798 and the French occupation of Algeria in 1830.[x]

There are many other factors that contributed to the decline of the Ottoman empire and a number of theories about why it eventually fell. Among them:

- A decline in the effectiveness of the sultans and the quality of their administrations. While the early centuries of the Ottoman empire were marked by some extremely able and sometimes brilliant leaders, this was not the case in the empire's later years, when individuals who lacked the ability and strategic foresight of their predecessors came to power. Among Ottoman rulers, there also developed a sense of complacency and a belief in the infallibility of Ottoman institutions and the inferiority of "the infidels."
- A population explosion, which could not be supported by the land available for cultivation, along with the failure of land reforms that resulted in peasant unrest and social and economic disruptions.
- The failure of the empire to integrate various nations, peoples and regions into a cohesive whole. As a result, the empire remained a collection of different ethnic and religious populations (millets), such as Greek Orthodox, Armenian and Jewish, as well as semiautonomous regions (Arabia, Lebanon, North Africa and the like) without a common, unifying identity or unity of purpose.

[x] Some of the early imperialist policies of the colonial powers carried not only economic, but religious and cultural agendas. The French, for example, sought to replace Islamic culture with their own by, among other measures, imposing controls on Islamic courts and suppressing many Muslim institutions. After transforming the Grand Mosque of Algiers into the Cathedral of Saint-Philippe, for example, the archbishop of Algiers announced a missionary plan to "save" Muslims from "the vices of their original religion generative of sloth, divorce, polygamy, theft, agrarian communism, fanaticism and even cannibalism." Azim A. Nanji, ed., *The Muslim Almanac* (Detroit: Gale Research, Inc., 1996), p. 123; Arthur Goldschmidt Jr., *A Concise History of the Middle East*, 3rd ed. (Boulder, Colo.:Westview Press, 1988), p. 231; John L. Esposito, *The Islamic Threat: Myth or Reality?*, 3rd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 50; Fawaz A. Gerges, *America and Political Islam: Clash of Cultures or Clash of Interests?* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

- Financial and economic crises at the beginning of the 16th century, which led to the depreciation and debasement of currency, high inflation and unemployment.
- The inability of native merchants in the empire to compete effectively with European joint stock companies that had long-term strategies as well as reserves and the political muscle of the European powers behind them.
- The decline of the empire's military forces.
- The lack of development of cities to serve as economic centers and a base for the rise of a middle class.
- Perhaps most important of all, the rise of 19th-century nationalism in all the regions of the Ottoman empire, involving Christians at first and then, later, even Muslim peoples within the empire, such as Arabs and Turks.[68]

By the early 20th century, Britain, France, Russia and the Netherlands ruled over nearly all Muslim societies, with only Afghanistan, Iran, and a much reduced Ottoman empire retaining their independence.[69]

The Big Debate: Herodians vs. Zealots

The decline of Muslim realms created another crisis of confidence and raised many questions. How should Muslims challenge European colonialism so as to regain, or retain, their independence and political and economic viability? The debate divided along two basic lines: On one side, some argued that the decline was caused by moral laxity and departure from the true path of Islam; these traditionalists called for an Islamic revival. On the other side, there were those who claimed that Islamic societies had not suddenly declined, but had long faltered owing to a chronic failure to modernize their societies and institutions; these reformers said Muslim societies could be rescued only by modernizing and challenging the West on its own terms. Each option had its risks. Looking to the past for answers risked greater stagnation. Looking to the future risked the loss of indigenous culture—was it possible to modernize without Westernizing? The contest between these two responses still shakes the Muslim world.

Historian Arnold Toynbee attempted to encapsulate the essence of this conflict between modernists and traditionalists not only in Muslim societies, but in all societies. In his 12-volume *Study of History*, Toynbee refers to modernists and traditionalists as "Herodians" and "Zealots," terms borrowed from the Jewish experience. In his theory of history, civilizations rise when people make creative responses to a variety of challenges, including geographic, economic, political and spiritual; and their continuing creativity sustains their civilizations. He theorizes that civilizations fall in a downward spiral, with creativity faltering, challenges not being met, anarchy developing and tyrants taking charge. Ultimately, these declining civilizations are threatened by more creative and dynamic ones. In response, Toynbee says, the threatened people typically follow one of two basic paths: If the Zealot leaders prevail, the civilization responds by isolating itself and trying to revive ideas and practices from an idealized past. If Herodians take the lead, the civilization responds by borrowing its opponents' best tools, synthesizing their best ideas and using the new tools and ideas to compete and regain strength and control. Naturally, in his view, successful civilizations are those that accept the Herodian challenge, while the others ossify or decline.[70]

Of course, not everyone agrees with Toynbee's crystallization of history into two forces—and certainly Zealots or traditionalists do not. But Toynbee is insightful in describing the intense struggles between modernism and traditionalism in Muslim societies that have been occurring, off and on, for more than a century. Moreover, both modernists and traditionalists look at the entire history of Islam, rationalizing past successes and failures in ways that bolster their current theological, ideological and political stances.

Clash of Modernists and Traditionalists

Until the 19th century, the Muslim struggle against colonial powers was considered the domain of secular political authorities, but gradually the struggle was joined by so-called national liberation movements. For while Europe exported colonialism and imperialism to Muslim realms, it could not avoid exporting also the ideas and legacies of the Enlightenment, nationalism, European institutions and political movements—liberal, conservative and radical. As such, the colonialists sowed the seeds of anticolonial movements, which used European ideologies against European dominance. Indeed, generations of nationalist leaders in the Middle East and North Africa were educated in European and even American institutions of higher education—including the American University of Beirut, founded in 1866, and the American University of Cairo, founded in 1919.

It is also not surprising that Muslim nationalists attempted to use Islam and the ulama as organizing tools to mobilize their societies against the colonial powers. (After all, the colonial powers themselves used religion as an effective tool to undermine nationalist and anticolonial movements.) Naturally, these alliances proved to be only temporary and expedient, especially because nationalism was then a new and not well understood concept—and a secular one at that. The idea of a secular nation, separate from the religious community, the umma, was, in theory, alien to Islam. But even though religion and state were not distinctly separated, they had been administered separately by Caliphs and the ulama for centuries.[71] Yet in their shared effort to combat colonialism and imperialism, the ulama and other traditionalists marched, off and on, under the banner of nationalism. As a result, across colonized Muslim societies Islamic revivals proliferated—and while they energized nationalist movements, the revivals also empowered the ulama, positioning them to assume greater authority. Hence, anticolonialism sometimes took on a religious fervor, one that Muslim reformers have often been unable to moderate; mobilizing the ulama was easy, demobilizing them has proven difficult.

Muslim history and theology provided both the necessary language and the justification for a struggle against the European intruders. Muhammad had preached that the umma, the Muslim community, must be totally focused on *jihad*, meaning "to struggle," to live in the way God intended, as laid out in the Qur'an. Throughout Muslim history, the concept of jihad has been used to encourage piety among individuals as well as to wage war to defend the faith or convert "infidels," or both.[XI] If there was prosperity in the umma, it indicated that Muslims were living according to His will; if the umma declined, it was a sign that they had strayed from the Qur'an. Any attack on this religious community, from within or without, was considered an act of blasphemy or an act of aggression that must be checked through jihad.[72]

At the same time, some 19th-century Islamic movements were more interested in reviving Islam than in overthrowing colonial rule elsewhere. Such was the case with Sunni *Wahhabis*, members of a puritanical denomination in the Arabian peninsula. Named after the 18th-century reformer Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab, they also called themselves *Muwahhiduns*, Unitarians. They condemned many modern innovations[73] and advocated a strict and literal adherence to the Qur'an and hadith in an effort to practice Islam as they believed it was practiced in the seventh century and, thus, experience the strength Islam had given to early Muslims.[74] The teachings of Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab represent the strictest interpretations of the Hanbali school.

In India, the most influential advocate of traditionalism was the Deoband school of thought. Known formally as Darul Uloom Deoband and named after its location in the Delhi region of northern India, the school is considered by some to be second only to Al-Azhar in Cairo as the most important center of traditional Islamic studies. Deoband was established in 1866 by Maulana Mohammed Qasim Nanauti to preserve the Muslim heritage against the encroachments of British colonialism. Yet the school grew from its orthodox Wahhabi beginnings into a more modern school, exhibiting sharp differences with other Muslim traditionalists—and even with its own offshoots in other countries. The Deoband, for example, supported India's secular constitution and religious pluralism. The school also opposed the partition of the Indian subcontinent and the creation of a Muslim homeland in Pakistan. As Marghboor Rahman, the seminary's vice chancellor, recently put it, "We are Indians first, then Muslims."[XII]

Self-Determination Movements of All Kinds

Nationalist movements in the 19th century were not confined to ruling ethnic majorities in Muslim empires, and minorities soon became enthused with their own nationalist aspirations as well. It is not surprising, therefore, to see Greeks, Albanians, Armenians, Macedonians, Serbs and Bulgarians adopting nationalism as a revolutionary movement in pursuit of a national reformation, autonomy or even independence from the Ottoman empire. Nationalism was an equal opportunity ideology. It was welcomed not only by non-Muslim ethnic groups, but also by minority ethnic groups of Muslims who attempted to find autonomy or independence. Following the Greeks' success in winning independence in 1830, we see all the others heading toward autonomy.

What was far more controversial, however, was the rise of nationalism among Arabs, Turks and other majority ethnic groups of Muslims. Such a development posed a great challenge to the traditional concept of the Muslim umma as a theocracy, with the ulama as its propo-

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[XI] Interestingly, when it comes to preaching about war, the Abrahamic faiths are nearly on the same page. Muhammad's approach to war had much in common with ancient Jewish traditions and the writings of St. Augustine in the fourth century. In *The City of God*, St. Augustine wrote that war—when done in a manner that limits harm and shows mercy to the vanquished—can be justified by the overarching need of a legitimate authority to preserve peace, protect the innocent, repulse invasion or reclaim territory. Islamic and Christian traditions, as well as international law, agree on the principles of just war and its practice, says James Turner Johnson, author of *Just War and Jihad: Historical and Theoretical Perspectives on War and Peace in Western and Islamic Traditions*. "There is no culture conflict here," he says. *See* "Just War Tradition and the New War on Terrorism: A Discussion of the Origins and Precepts of Just War Principles and Their Application to a War on Terrorism," *Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life*, December 2001, http://pewforum.org/publications.

nent—for here was an ideological movement that was breaking Muslims' political ties to the umma, leaving behind only the religious bonds. Thus, nationalism became not only a unifying force, but a fragmenting one as well. For these ethnic Muslim groups were attempting to recreate their own umma—recognizing "national independence" both as a national right and as a Muslim right.

Moreover, in some of these nationalist struggles we even see Christians and Muslims joining together to transcend their religious differences and form new states or secular political parties. We witness a growing awareness of their past glories and talk about their "historical missions," their destiny and the uniqueness of their languages. People saw themselves not just as a religious community, but as a community that shared distinct cultural, ethnic, geographic and historical bonds. In Syria, Christians and Muslims cooperated in forging a national identity based on their common Arabic language and culture; similarly, in Egypt, Coptic Christians and Muslims collaboratively created a nationalist identity based on their love of the land and centuries of overlapping pharaonic, Christian and Muslim cultures.

Even conservative Muslims were reminded that there were historical precedents for bringing together such heterogeneous communities—after all, the Prophet Muhammad's first umma in Medina included pagan, Jewish and Muslim members. In India, too, we see interfaith, nationalist coalitions: the Hindu-dominated Congress political party included many prominent Muslim leaders who shared the aspirations for an independent India and opposed partition.

Secular Efforts to Create Unity Flounder

Not only do we see the emergence of secular nationalist movements that challenged European colonialists, but we also see the emergence of secular "Pan-" movements in Muslim realms between the 1870s and 1918. These movements were similar to the Pan-German and Pan-Slav movements in that they attempted to unite ethnic groups that shared a "common blood," language or culture for a common purpose. The Muslim "Pan-" movements included Pan-Turkism, which was an effort to unite all Turkish-speaking peoples, and Pan-Iranism, which was a movement to unite all Persian-speaking peoples. Reaching still further, others called for a Pan-Islamism, a secular movement that could bridge both secular and religious aspirations of Muslims worldwide.[75] To Muslim modernists, these movements were organizing tools to promote political freedom and create large ethnic units that might give them access to natural and other resources for greater strength, economically and militarily. But to the ulama and other traditionalists who supported these movements, they were merely expedient vehicles for unifying the religious community, to recreate the umma as a theocracy.

[xii] Over Deoband's history, more than 65,000 Islamic scholars have studied there for free, and its graduates oversee more than 40,000 *madrasas*, or traditional religious schools. In Afghanistan and Pakistan, Deobandism developed later, after partition of the Indian subcontinent. What we see in these countries is not the evolved form of Indian Deobandism, but instead the orthodox form of Wahhabi Islam with Talibanism grafted onto it. This highly ideological form of Islam was taught in religious schools, including one near Peshawar that trained many of the top Taliban leaders. *See* Kartikeya Sharma, "Scholar's Getaway," *The Week*, July 1, 2001, www.the-week.com/21jul01/life8.htm. *See also* Barbara D. Metcalf, "'Traditionalist' Islamic Activism: Deoband, Tablighis, and Talibs," Social Science Research Council, www.ssrc.org/sept11/essays/metcalf_text_only.htm; and Celia W. Dugger, "Indian Town's Seed Grew into the Taliban's Code," *The New York Times*, February 23, 2002, p. A3.

Sayyid Jamal ad-Din al-Afghani, an Iranian scholar and political activist, was the first theoretician of Pan-Islamism and Muslim modernism, which was a blend of Pan-Islamism, secularism and nationalism.[76] Al-Afghani had seriously challenged the authorities, both Muslim and European, since the 1870s.[77] He had warned about "the danger of European intervention, the need for national unity to resist it, the need for a broader unity of the Islamic peoples [and] the need for a constitution to limit the ruler's power." He ascribed the decline of Muslim power to a combination of European imperialism, autocratic Muslim rulers and a retrogressive ulama that saw no place for Islam in the modern world. Al-Afghani called for engaging as well as confronting the West, creating Muslim-style democracies and reforming Islam—to encourage the creation of new ideas, much as it had done during the Golden Age of science and learning in the Abbasid period.[78] In a "Lecture on Teaching and Learning," given in 1882 in Calcutta, al-Afghani said:

> The strangest thing of all is that our ulama these days have divided science into two parts. One they call Muslim science, and one European science. Because of this they forbid others to teach some of the useful sciences. They have not understood that science is that noble thing that has no connection with any nation, and is not distinguished by anything but itself. Rather, everything that is known is known by science, and every nation that becomes renowned becomes renowned through science.... The Islamic religion is the closest of religions to science and knowledge, and there is no incompatibility between science and knowledge and the foundation of the Islamic faith.[79]

These modernist ideas were not confined to the Ottoman empire or to the Indian subcontinent, Iran or Russia; they even flourished in such isolated lands as Afghanistan. There, Mahmud Tarzi, a modernist who published the first Afghan newspaper—*Siraj al-Akhbar Afghaniyah* (the *Lamp of the News of Afghanistan*)—argued in 1911 that European colonists were pursuing policies that propagated materialism and were designed to sap the strength of Islam. To this end, he said, colonists supported the activities of Christian missionaries, capitalized on and even promoted divisions among the Muslims, and instituted educational programs in their colonies that were aimed at stifling the revival of Islam.[80]

In Tarzi's view, Muslims needed to protect their common heritage by closing ranks behind unified political, cultural, economic and military strategies. He and others were inspired by Japan's stunning defeat of its far more powerful adversary in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905. They reasoned that if a nation like Japan, which lacked many natural resources, could nearly annihilate the Russians' Baltic fleet and defeat its army in Manchuria, then there was hope that Muslim nations, working together in a disciplined way, could recapture their autonomy and power from the Europeans.

The Postcolonial Struggle

During the colonial period, Muslim elites—the rationalists, secularists and modernists, however one might describe them—attempted to build an infrastructure for modern statehood in anticipation of the eventual liberation of their lands. But they had an uphill struggle. Efforts to modernize Muslim economies during colonial periods were skewed by the needs

of the Europeans, who sought raw materials for European factories and a growing colonial market for finished products. In addition, there were internal conflicts, such as the ulama's opposition to modern banking, based on the Qur'anic ban on charging interest. As a result, Muslim countries, not unlike others in Asia and Africa, were not able to successfully meet the multiple challenges of the Industrial Revolution and its aftermath. Muslim nations lacked the capital, among other things, to modernize rapidly. In one instance, Egypt was headed for insolvency after completing an ambitious program—which included building the Suez Canal, 900 miles of railway and vast irrigation projects. Its precarious financial situation gave Britain, which had a controlling interest in the Suez Canal, a reason to protect its investments by occupying the country in 1882.[81] It was not until 1956 that Britain removed all of its troops from Egypt.

Since the 19th century, in spite of the debates between modernists and traditionalists about developments in Muslim societies, we have seen the emergence of many modern Muslim states—complete, of course, with museums, libraries, hospitals, schools, universities and urban skyscrapers, including the world's tallest buildings in Kuala Lumpur.[XIII] The record shows that Islam is not averse to science or technology. The problem is that there are not enough resources to provide Muslim populations with equal opportunities in education and employment and not enough political resilience in many governments to allow the people to participate in the political process. The debate is also about values—how to protect a society's traditional cultural heritage and practices in an age of globalization and how to develop a creative coexistence between modernism and traditionalism without Westernization.

Overall, though, most Muslim nations are considered "developing" nations. Despite countless attempts at modernizing along Western models through the 20th century, most Muslim societies have not been able to surmount barriers in worldwide economic competition. A major problem for modernizers, right up to the present day, has been the structure of their education systems. While colonial governments established some Western-style schools, many traditional Muslims responded by expanding religious schools, often with strictly religious curricula.[82] Most rudimentary Muslim religious school systems have long relied on rote learning and concentrated on the fundamentals of Islamic culture and religion, often excluding from the curriculum math, science, history, languages and foreign literature—in short, anything considered Western or foreign.

To put the problems faced by Muslim societies in perspective, then, one should be reminded that the problems they confronted, and still do confront, were not endemic to Muslim societies. Japan, Korea, China and other societies in the 17th through the 19th centuries faced similar challenges. They blamed their decline in power on the West, rejected modernism and sought isolationism as the best way to preserve their independence as well as their historical legacies. In Japan, for example, it was not until the Meiji Restoration in 1868 that modernization and Westernization began to take place. It is also interesting to note that

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[XIII] Earlier this year, in an illustration of modernity, Wafa Fageeh, a professor at Abdulaziz University, performed the world's first transplant of a human uterus with her team at King Fahad Hospital and Research Center in Jiddah, Saudi Arabia. Emma Ross, "First Human Uterus Transplant Performed by Saudi Doctors," Associated Press, March 7, 2002, www.canoe.ca/Health0203/07_uterus-ap.html.

Japan's intellectual dependence on the West lasted for only a generation after European-style universities had been imported.[83]

Today, many Muslims are cognizant of the shortcomings in their institutional development, economies, social progress and systems of education. Referring to primitive religious education in Muslim countries, Mohamed Charfi writes, "The consequences of such teachings on the minds of young people in most Muslim-majority countries have been disastrous." Charfi is a former minister of education in Tunisia, which began modernizing its educational system and curricula in 1989.[XIV] Also excluded from these schools in some societies are girls and women, which, of course, deals a major blow in their respective countries to economic and social development—not to mention to women's rights and the stewardship of the next generation of children.

Muslim countries have also been hamstrung by a shortage of quality institutions in higher education, especially their lack of modern universities with state-of-the-art scientific laboratories and appropriate faculty to train scientists.[XV] The combination of these factors has resulted in a woefully inadequate number of scientists in Muslim countries—by one recent estimate, less than 1 percent of the world's scientists are Muslims, even though Muslims account for almost 20 percent of the world's population.[84] The situation is aggravated by Muslim countries that send students abroad to study, as most of these students do not return, causing a brain drain—as well as lost opportunities for bringing new ideas back to their Muslim homelands. There is no doubt that the educational systems of all Muslim countries need to be strengthened and modernized, which includes encouraging academic freedom for teaching and research.[XVI]

A group of Muslim scholars has recently issued a landmark study about the dire situation in Arab societies. The study, "The Arab Human Development Report 2002," was published in June by the United Nations Development Program and the Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development. It is important to note that the study represents the "unbiased, objective analysis" of "a group of distinguished Arab intellectuals"—nearly 30 scholars in Islamic sociology, economics and culture. It was written by Nader Fergany, a prominent labor economist in Egypt. The project's advisory board included Thoraya Obaid, a Saudi who heads the UN Population Fund; Mervat Tallawy, an Egyptian diplomat; and Clovis Maksoud, who heads the Center for the Global South at American University in Washington. Some of the scholars' assessments about the status of 22 Arab nations:

[XIV] Writing about the dangers of traditional education, Mohamed Charfi has stated: "Students learn that, in order to be good believers, they should be living under a Caliph, that divine law makes it necessary to stone the adulterer and forbid lending at interest...only to discover, out in the street, a society directed by a civil government with a modern penal code and an economy founded on a banking system. Many Muslim children still learn at school the ancient ideology of a triumphant Muslim empire, an ideology that held all non-Muslims to be in error and saw its mission as bringing Islam's light to the world. And yet young people see their governments working to live in peace with non-Muslim powers. Such discordant teachings do not prepare children to live in a changing world. Osama bin Laden, like the 15 Saudis who participated in the criminal operations of Sept. 11, seems to be have been the pure product of his schooling. While Saudi Arabia is officially a moderate state allied with America, it has also been one of the main supporters of Islamic fundamentalism because of its financing of schools following the Wahhabi doctrine. Saudi-backed madrasas [religious schools] in Pakistan and Afghanistan have played significant roles in the strengthening of radical Islam in those countries." Mohamed Charfi, "Reaching the Next Muslim Generation," *The New York Times*, March 12, 2002, p. A27.

Indeed, Moulana Samiul-Haq, chancellor of the Darul Uloom Haqqania religious school in Nowshera, Pakistan, said in 1998, "Each and every person in this institution wants to be like Osama bin Laden." His school trained most of the Taliban leaders. Andrew Maykuth, "The Taliban's Version of Harvard: 'Each and Every Person in This Institution Wants to Be Like Osama bin Laden,'" September 5, 1998, the *Gazette* (Montreal).

1. Intellectual and cultural isolation: Arab publishers translate into Arabic only about 330 books a year, or one-fifth the number that the Greeks translate into Greek. To put this in perspective, during the past 1,000 years, the entire Arab world has translated into Arabic only as many books as Spanish publishers now annually translate into Spanish. There is also a "severe shortage" of new writing by Arabs. Filmmaking is declining. Internet use is low, lower even than in sub-Saharan Africa, and only about 1 in 100 Arabs has a personal computer.

2. Research and development is minimal: With Arab nations spending less than one-seventh of the world average annual investment in research, in relation to the size of overall national economies, Arab achievements in science and technology are very limited.

3. Productivity is declining: The growth in per capita income has stalled for two decades, to a level just above that of sub-Saharan Africa. About 15 percent of the labor force was unemployed. Forty years ago, Arab productivity was 32 percent of the North American level; by 1990, it had fallen to 19 percent.

4. Education is inadequate: While Arab nations spend more on education than elsewhere in the developing world, more than one in four Arabs is illiterate, and half of Arab women cannot read or write. About 10 million children (6 to 15 years old) do not go to school. Worse still, "There is evidence that the quality of education has deteriorated."

5. Wasteful of human resources: Women are routinely denied advancement in the workplace. "Sadly, the Arab world is depriving itself of the creativity and productivity of half of its citizens."

6. Poverty of opportunities: Due to its overall oil wealth, the Arab region has the (developing) world's lowest level of abject

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[xv] According to a recent report, "Higher Education in the Arab States" (Beirut, Lebanon: Regional Office for Education in the Arab States, February 2002), the 22-member states of the Arab League had a combined population of 240.7 million in 1999—and 68 million were illiterate. In 1997, the 22 Arab states had a total of only 175 universities, of which 128 were run by governments. Of the 175 institutions, 108 were established between 1981 and 1996, and about half of those new universities were in just three nations, Sudan, Jordan and Yemen. Cost of education per student in 1995/1996 averaged $2,444 a year in the 22 states and ranged from a high of $15,701 in Oman to a low of $515 in Yemen. "Many of the universities have barely taken off; many are poorly staffed, ill-equipped and can barely qualify for the name; many government ones were opened for political reasons, and most of the private [ones] for profit," the report states. Some old universities, like Alexandria in Egypt, are huge: 130,000 students were enrolled in 1995/1996. Curriculum is often limited: In Saudi Arabia, the most common field of study is Islamic law, there are no college programs for general law, business or political science, and opportunities to study the humanities are "very rare." Altogether, the Arab states had more than three million students in higher education during 1996; the vast majority were in bachelor-level programs, and about 12 percent were in two- or three-year programs at technical institutes. The number of students attending college has increased significantly since 1990; in 1997, the "gross enrollment ratio" was 17.3 percent for the male, secondary student population and 12.4 percent for female students, compared to more developed regions, where the ratios were 56.8 percent for the male student population and 65.6 percent for female students.

[xvi] In Islamabad, some medical students accused a professor of blasphemy, and he was sentenced to death in 2000. Akbar Ahmed and Lawrence Rosen, "Islam, Academe, and Freedom of the Mind," *Chronicle of Higher Education*, November 2, 2001, p. B11.

poverty (measured as incomes of less than $1 a day), yet more than one in five Arabs lives on less than $2 a day. "The Arab region is hobbled by a different kind of poverty—poverty of capabilities and poverty of opportunities."

7. Freedom denied: According to two international indices that are widely used to compare levels of freedom—including free speech, civil rights, political rights, free press and government accountability—the Arab region has the lowest level of freedom of any of the world's seven regions. "The attitudes of public authorities range from opposition to manipulation to 'freedom under surveillance.'"

8. Social and political stagnation: "The wave of democracy that transformed governance in most of Latin America and East Asia in the 1980s and early 1990s has barely reached the Arab states. This freedom deficit undermines human development."

9. High maternal mortality rate: Four times worse than in East Asia.

10. Population explosion: Currently, the 22 Arab states have a total population of 280 million; that is projected to grow to between 410 million and 459 million by 2020. Today, 38 percent of Arabs are under 14 years old.

11. Brain drain: Half of Arab youths say they want to emigrate.

In the study, the scholars conclude: "What the region needs to ensure a bright future for coming generations is the political will to invest in Arab capabilities and knowledge, particularly those of Arab women, in good governance, and in strong cooperation between Arab nations.... The Arab world is at a crossroads. The fundamental choice is whether its trajectory will remain marked by inertia...and by ineffective policies that have produced the substantial development challenges facing the region; or whether prospects for an Arab renaissance, anchored in human development, will be actively pursued."[85]

Flashback: The Impact of World War I on Muslim Realms

World War I, in a dramatic way, once again confirmed the answer to the big question: Is there a single, unified "Muslim world"—with one umma, under one Caliph, that transcends political and religious divisions in all Muslim realms? The stage was set in 1914, when the Young Turks of the Ottoman empire joined the Central Powers—the German and Austria-Hungary empires—against the Allied Powers—Britain, France and Russia.

On November 25, 1914, shortly after declaring war against the Allied Powers, the Caliph, Sultan Mehmed V (1844–1918), called for Muslims worldwide to join the Ottomans in their own jihad, or holy war. The proclamation stated, "The Muslims in general who are under the oppressive grasp of the aforesaid tyrannical governments in such places as the Crimea, Kazan, Turkestan, Bukhara, Khiva, and India, and those dwelling in China, Afghanistan, Africa and other regions of the earth, are hastening to join in this Great Jihad to the best of their ability, with life and property, alongside the Ottomans, in conformity with the relevant holy Fatwas."[86]

The Caliph's fatwa, legal decree, failed. The monolithic unity of Islam appeared to be only an idealistic abstraction. National, ethnic, dynastic, regional, cultural, class and tribal

interests proved stronger than the majestic appeal of the Caliph. Not only did Muslims outside of the empire fight *against* the Ottomans in the ranks of their enemies—the British and French forces and their allies—there was also a revolt of Muslims *within* the empire itself. Pursuing ethnic, dynastic and even religious agendas, Muslims in Arabia—including *Hashemites*, the traditional guardians of Islam's holy sites, and puritanical Wahhabis—revolted against the Ottoman Turks, charging them with corrupting Islam.

In the aftermath of World War I, the Caliphate, the last major symbol—or relic—of unity in Muslim societies, disappeared. The Caliphate, which had presumably provided Muslims worldwide with leadership links to Muhammad since his death in 632, was formally abolished in 1924 under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, founder and president of modern Turkey.[87] Subsequent efforts to restore the Caliphate, organized in India and elsewhere, failed.

The Challenges of the 20th Century

Following World War I and the defeat of the Ottoman empire, a struggle between modernists and traditionalists unfolded. On the modernist side, we saw the emergence of some secularized states, including the Republic of Turkey, where Atatürk plunged ahead with modernizing and secularizing the country along Western lines. Islamic law was replaced with Belgian and Swiss civil codes, religious schools were closed, the Sufi order was banned, the Gregorian calendar was adopted, the Roman alphabet replaced the Arabic one and citizens were even required to wear Western dress. Although Turkey's secular transition was abrupt and comprehensive, most postcolonial Muslim nations kept European-style, secular legal institutions, with Islamic law generally applied only to family law and ritual. Also held over were the colonists' languages: French in North Africa and Lebanon, for example, and English in India, Asia and Malaysia.[88]

Modernization was pursued elsewhere, as in Iran. After a successful constitutional movement and armed struggle, Iranian reformers secured a constitutional monarchy under the reign of Muzaffar al-Din Shah in 1906, and they fought to preserve it under his successors. Following World War I, in 1925, Reza Shah Pahlavi established a new dynasty and imposed a version of the Draconian formula used by Atatürk to modernize. The Shah's aim was to make Iran a modern, secular state. He, too, imposed Western dress codes as well as a secular constitution, a national banking system, a modern army and compulsory education. He revised criminal laws based on French codes and commercial laws based on Belgian models. He also opened modern schools and the University of Teheran. But the Shah kept the Arabic script and Muslim calendar. He built museums, libraries and other cultural institutions to preserve Iran's Persian heritage as distinct from that of the Turks or Arabs. In order to Westernize without opposition from the ulama, he co-opted them through financial subsidies and administrative appointments—and occasionally did away with resistant clerics. His policies were continued under his son, Muhammad Reza Shah Pahlavi.

On the traditionalist side, Saudi Arabia emerged as one model for a religious state. In 1932, Abdul-Aziz ibn Saud united four tribal provinces to create the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia—a monarchy that uses the Qur'an and its script for social and economic equality to serve as the nation's constitution.[89] Most of its

citizens are members of the orthodox, Wahhabi sect of Sunni Muslims. Islam is also the official state religion in a handful of states, including Jordan, Iran, Yemen, Morocco, Kuwait and Egypt. In pointing that out, it is worth noting that most of the world's Muslims live in secular states with varying degrees of separation between state and mosque.[90]

Elusive Unity

Following World War II, the United Nations in 1946 ended the mandate system, which had left the territories of the defeated powers in World War I under the mandate, or direction, of the victors, to be governed until they were deemed ready to govern themselves. When the UN recognized independent states in Syria, Lebanon and Jordan, there was an opportunity for secularism, with a modernist agenda, to emerge as the dominant force. That was not to be, however, as the partition of Palestine to create the state of Israel in 1948 opened a new chapter of conflict in Middle East politics, as well as in Muslim politics more generally. Muslim states now had to struggle to balance dynastic, secular, nationalist and religious forces that were unleashed by the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

But even as Israel emerged as a polarizing force, there was often more outrage than unity, indicating that nationalist, ethnic, regional and cultural divisions were deeper than any impulse for unity. The Arab League, which was created in 1945, could not manage these international forces or overcome many differences within Arab nations. While it became a symbol of unity, it was not an effective agent of creating unity. The Arab League was to be a forerunner of a Pan-Arab movement: some strides were made by several states and various political parties to form regional, political, economic and military alliances, but those efforts were nearly all unsuccessful.

For example, in 1958 a number of Arab states decided to form political mergers, yet they quickly fell apart. They included the United Arab Republic, consisting of Syria, Egypt and Yemen, which lasted only three years (though Egypt used the name until 1971); and the Arab Federation, consisting of Iraq and Jordan, which lasted about six months before ethnic and dynastic interests tore it apart. In 1964, a plan to create an economic counterpart to the European Union failed to unite Algeria, Libya, Morocco and Tunisia. Even collaborative Muslim efforts suffered from disunity. In the Six-Day War of 1967, in which Egypt, Jordan and Syria joined forces against Israel, we see that shared national interests brought the three Arab states together. Their unity was short-lived. The war ended with a victorious Israel as the occupying power in the Golan Heights, the West Bank, Gaza, Sinai and East Jerusalem.

Their defeat and loss of territory, known as "the Disaster," did not unify Muslim nations, but sowed seeds of further disunity. It also reopened the debate between modernists and traditionalists as to which was the best way to combat not only Israel, but also Western influence. Modernists contended that the defeat demonstrated the need to shift the modernization efforts into high gear. Traditionalists argued that the defeat highlighted the shortcomings of secular nationalism as well as the failures of solely using Western technologies and institutions as models for organizing and defending Muslim societies. True unity, they argued, could be accomplished only through a religious revival.

Moreover, the position of the ulama, clerics in the religious establishment, was strengthened during the Cold War. They received support from conservative secular nations as well as Western powers, both of which considered the ulama as bulwarks against Communism. The ulama received additional support from the West, which denounced the Soviet Union for denying Muslims in Central Asia and elsewhere the freedom to practice their religion. Not only was it in the West's interests to mobilize Muslim states against the Soviets and Communism, it was also in the ulama's interest to oppose the godless "evil empire." These combined efforts lent legitimacy to the ulama and eventually contributed to their militancy.

But even while the ulama flourished, nearly all unity efforts, as political or religious strategies, continued to flounder. Only one tiny union from the postwar period, the United Arab Emirates, survived after being created in 1971–1972, with territory about the size of South Carolina. From the 1970s on, no other unity effort has succeeded. These aborted efforts include the Federation of Arab Republics, consisting of Libya, Egypt and Syria in 1972; a plan to merge Egypt and Libya in 1973; and Libyan proposals to merge with Tunisia in 1974, Chad in 1981, Morocco in 1984, Algeria in 1987 and the Sudan in 1990.[91] Instead of successful mergers, we witness other Arab states fighting among themselves for territory, wealth and power—most notably in the Iran-Iraq war of 1980–1988. During the Persian Gulf War, as well, we see most Arab states fighting Iraq under the United Nations banner, with no Muslim allies in Iraqi trenches.

The fragmentation of unity was not confined to Arab nations, as we see similar divisions in the Indian subcontinent during its partition. There were Muslims who wanted a unified India, and others who were fearful of being overwhelmed by a Hindu majority after India became independent.[92] Nevertheless, the British-sponsored partition of the Indian subcontinent in 1947 gave Muslims a homeland in the Islamic Republic of Pakistan—but left more than 100 million Muslims in India. Although religion once again was used to rally support for the partition, Pakistan was founded and organized as a completely secular state—and, to emphasize that, the word *Islamic* was removed from Pakistan's official name in 1962. The partition, of course, was troubled from the start. Sir Cyril Radcliffe, who had never previously visited India, was given only five weeks to draw new national boundaries across a vast and bitterly disputed territory. The result was a tragic loss of millions of lives (including the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi), displacement of millions of refugees and the 1947 India-Pakistan war over Kashmir, which has provided the basis for more violent conflicts and war between India and Pakistan.

Despite the travails of the new state and the common suffering of both Muslims and Hindus, Pakistan emerged with great promise. Its leaders thought of it as a modernist and democratic model for other Muslim countries, with secular courts, schools and other institutions, thanks largely to Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the founding father of Pakistan. Speaking as Governor-General to members of Pakistan's first Constituent Assembly in 1947, he said: "Now, if we want to make this great State of Pakistan happy and prosperous we should wholly and solely concentrate on the well-being of the people, and especially of the masses and the poor. If you will work in co-operation, forgetting the past, burying the hatchet, you are bound to succeed."[93]

As we know, a subsequent war over Kashmir in 1965 did not resolve the territorial dispute, and the 1971 war over East Pakistan led to that region's independence as Bangladesh. Islam once again proved to be not strong enough to hold together this Muslim realm, separated as it was not only by geography, but also by regional, ethnic and cultural interests.

1970s Bring Muslims War, Revolution and Division

During Europe's colonial dominance in Muslim realms, the blame for a lack of economic and social justice—not to mention democracy—could be left at the door of the colonial powers. Following the end of colonial rule, delayed progress in the Middle East was rationalized by the unfolding of the protracted Israeli-Palestinian conflict. But that could not explain the lack of social progress in other Muslim societies, including those in North Africa, Iran, Indonesia, Malaysia and even Pakistan.

Great wealth from oil created another source of bitter contention between Muslim nations—where, for example, oil-rich Saudi Arabia today has almost four times the per capita income of Jordan. The oil wealth ignited a debate about whether natural resources belong to the entire umma or only to local populations, states and their rulers.

In the 1970s, the entire political scene changed in the Middle East and in South Asia.

After East Pakistan broke away and became Bangladesh, Pakistani strategists faced the grim prospect of their shrinking country being squeezed by a hostile India and, later in the 1970s, by an expansionist, Soviet-backed regime in Afghanistan. The insecurity of Pakistan—a very young state—reached alarming heights. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Pakistan's president from 1971 to 1973, had begun a process of Islamizing the secular state's institutions as a way to consolidate his political base. Dangerously, he also initiated steps to develop nuclear weapons, following India's lead in 1968.[94] "There was a Christian bomb, a Jewish bomb, and now a Hindu bomb. Why not an Islamic bomb?" Bhutto said.[95]

Needless to say, the prospect of an "Islamic bomb" thrilled Islamist militant movements and confirmed militant Westerners' worst suspicions.

Under President Mohammad Zia ul-Haq, who succeeded Bhutto (and had Bhutto executed in 1979), the process of Islamization and nuclear weapons development continued. With some success, Zia neutralized American criticism of his nuclear program by citing the 1979 Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and a need to contain the influence of the 1978–1979 Islamic revolution in Iran. In these efforts, Zia enlisted the help of the Saudis, Wahhabis and Americans.[96]

We should not forget that Bhutto's and Zia's dream of an "Islamic bomb" was not confined to Pakistan, prompting Muslim intellectuals such as Ali A. Mazrui to discuss the magnitude of this danger. "Islam in despair could be pushed to nuclear terrorism as a version of the Jihad. Such terrorism—probably aimed against Western interests—may well be the outcome of Western and Israeli insensitivity to the fairness and justice inherent in Islamic civilization."[97]

Pakistan tested a nuclear weapon in 1998, and by some estimates, there may be more than 100 nuclear weapons, total, in India and Pakistan today. Along the way, the issue became whether the purpose of Pakistan's

nuclear arsenal was to even the balance of power with India or whether it was to create an "Islamic bomb," one to be used for Islamist causes and for "rectifying" injustices faced by Muslims everywhere.

In Iran, we witnessed Muslims' pent-up frustrations explode into a 1978 ulama-led revolution, which in turn reverberated in many Muslim nations. Led by Ayatullah Ruhollah Khomeini, the Iranian revolution replaced the pro-Western monarchy with an Islamic republic in 1979. The revolution, the ensuing hostage crisis and America's inability to rescue the hostages all strengthened the prestige of Ayatullah Khomeini.[XVII] It was Khomeini who blamed America for threatening the umma with materialism and cultural temptations, and it was Khomeini who called for a holy war against "the Great Satan," the term he coined for the United States.[98]

On the one hand, the revolution became a source of inspiration to other militant Islamists, who saw that a resurgent Islam could "defeat" the United States, displace a U.S.-backed secular ruler and usher in a model for a religious state. On the other hand, conservative Muslim states and their rulers saw the revolution as a threat—not a religious threat, but a political threat that could create all kinds of new alliances, conflicts and even wars within the Middle East. In the West, many encouraged conservative states to contain the Khomeini revolution and, indeed, welcomed Iraqi opposition to Iran as a barrier to the expansion of the Iranian revolution. For if the revolution had been successfully exported to other Muslim countries, it would have lent geopolitical credence to the possibility of an Islamist threat to the West and its dependence on Middle East oil.

We recall that Khomeini fomented revolution and sharply criticized "decadent and corrupt" secular governments in Muslim countries. Bemoaning secularization, he once said: "Unfortunately, we have lost Islam. They have completely separated it from politics. They cut off its head and gave the rest to us.... As long as Muslims remain in this situation, they cannot reach their glory. The glory of Islam is that which existed at the beginning of Islam." Referring to early Muslims and his view of Islam's continuing mission, Khomeini said, "They destroyed two empires with their few numbers because they wanted to build human beings. Islam does not conquer. Islam wants all countries to become Muslim, of themselves. That is, Islam seeks to make those people who are not human beings, human.... Islam exists to correct society, and if a sword is unsheathed, it is unsheathed to destroy the corruptors who do not allow society to be corrected."[99]

The third landmark event of the 1970s, coming on the heels of the Iranian revolution, was the 1979 Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. It provided yet another opportunity for militant Islamists, conservative states and the United States to form an alliance of convenience against the Soviets. Their invasion was all the more offensive to Islamists because Afghanistan, by having defeated the British empire in three wars, was one of only a handful of Muslim countries that had remained independent in the age of imperialism. The United States, through its allies in the Gulf

[XVII] The new Iranian government, dominated by conservative clerics, declared war against liberals, radicals and some minorities, including the followers of Bahai World Faith. The Bahai, whose members believe in the integration of all world religions, were accused of having collaborated with the Shah, Israel and the United States. Their assets were seized, and one leader, Ayatullah Sadduqi, declared the Bahai to be *mahdur ad-damm*, or "those whose blood may be shed." Robert E. Burns, *The Wrath of Allah* (Houston, Tex.: A. Ghosh, 1994), www.hraic.org/some_islamic_history.html.

and Pakistan, provided money, logistical support and highly sophisticated weapons to *mujahedin*, "holy warriors," from many Muslim societies. Thus, the United States helped create what may have been the first Muslim legion to fight against the "infidel" and imperialist Soviet Union. The U.S. policy also strengthened the position of Pakistan as a base of operations and as a training ground for militant Islamists. In doing so, of course, the United States greatly strengthened Islamist militancy movements, including the Taliban.

A lesson from these three situations in the 1970s is that the internal tensions and geopolitical interests of Muslim nations defied external efforts at imposing any kind of unity scheme. Even the temporary alliance against the Soviets left a bitter legacy that included 20 years of civil war between Muslims in Afghanistan.

Religious Revivals

Along with these developments, there was an ongoing struggle among groups of Muslim traditionalists. There were religious revivalists, who sought to revive a strict practice of Islam to bring about moral reform. Other traditionalists (to be discussed later) wanted to revive Islam as both a religion and an ideology—hence the terms *Islamism* for "political Islam" and *Islamists* for its adherents.

Islam's religious revivalists, much like fundamentalists in other religious revivals worldwide, often express alienation and anger about the "ravages" of secularism, perceived amorality and loss of "traditional values" in the modern world.[XVIII] To this list, Islamic revivalists add the desire to preserve their traditions and culture by opposing the homogenizing forces of globalization and popular Western culture.[XIX]

All fundamentalists—in the folds of Christianity, Judaism, Islam and other religions—typically call for returning to the roots of their religions and giving literal interpretations to selected passages of their holy texts and scripture. By their very nature, fundamentalists and revivalists consider their doctrines to be the truest and superior to all others; hence, they reject any ecumenical compromise or tolerance for other religious ideas as an unacceptable form of moral relativism.

[XVIII] This contemporary religious revival era began, some say, with concurrent fundamentalist movements in the United States and elsewhere (Karen Armstrong, *Islam: A Short History* [New York: The Modern Library, 2000], pp. 164, 165, 166; *see also* Karen Armstrong, *The Battle for God* [New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2000]). As the United States has become more secular, the growth in membership among major religions has been disproportionately among fundamentalist Protestants, conservative Catholics and Orthodox Jews. So it is not surprising, as Michael Lind writes ("Which Civilisation?," *Prospect*, November 2001), that both Democratic and Republican candidates in the 2000 presidential election were evangelical Protestants and both said they had "found Jesus." Similarly, the Democratic vice-presidential candidate was an Orthodox Jew, who had once said that nonbelievers could not be good citizens. As Lind writes, "By the 1990s, right-wing Protestants, Catholics and Jews were setting aside their differences to wage political war on secularism and humanism," which he defines as a tradition in which humanists seek guidance in knowledge, history and science, not supernatural religion, to resolve social problems. Lind continues, "The extension of the political alliance of 'people of faith' to reactionary Muslims, who share their opposition to feminism, gay rights, abortion, contraception and freedom from censorship, is the logical next step.... Both orthodox Christianity and orthodox Islam are intolerant religions which divide humanity into believers and infidels." And both orthodoxies value faith over reason, Lind points out, recalling that Luther once declared, "Reason is the Devil's whore."

Fundamentalists revitalize religions and raise important questions about the legitimacy of secular laws, ethical norms and economic systems. But they tend to be uncompromising, rigidly doctrinaire and willing to roll back many of civilization's achievements, claimed by others to be progressive, including human rights, freedom of speech and intellectual freedom.

Much like fundamentalist movements worldwide, Islamic revivals also lack uniformity. Actually, there are a large number of Islamic revivals, which reflect the religion's vast array of denominations, sects and subsects as well as its members' specific ethnic and national identities. Islamic revivals, it is generally believed, surged after Israel's 1967 victory. Proponents say revivals are an inherent part of Islam, inspired by the Muslim belief that the religious community declines only when it strays from the Sharia, Islamic law, and that the Qur'an provides God's exact instructions for correcting immorality in private and public life. As the 20th century drew to a close, Islamic revivals had become an international phenomenon, growing from a grassroots movement into the mainstream of society—rich, poor, educated and illiterate. Illustrative of the depth of interest in Islamic revivals, an estimated two-thirds of all doctoral candidates in Saudi Arabia are now in Islamic studies.[100]

As mentioned, Islamic revivalism differs from the political movement called Islamism. While revivalists see the religious reform as an end in itself, Islamists see the Islamic revival as a means to a political goal—namely, the reorganization of the state, by peaceful or violent means, depending on whether the Islamists are moderate or militant.

Islamists: Mixing Liberation Politics and Religious Revival

Islamism is anything but a unified movement, as Islamist views range across the entire spectra of both religious and political thought.

Jillian Schwedler describes this well: "Islamism is not a single idea; it has been articulated in response to historical phenomena as diverse as colonialism, new forms of migration, the creation of nation-states, the suppression of labor, leftist mobilization and Western political and economic hegemony." She adds, "Islamists may be divided into radical and moderate camps, the former aiming to create an Islamic state through revolution and the latter willing to pursue their political agendas within existing (and often quasi-democratic) state institutions." Schwedler reports that "only a tiny percentage of Muslims engage in political projects that can properly be called Islamist. Far more identify with ideologies that are distinctly nationalist, socialist, communist, or democratic." [101]

Islamism, in effect, represents another political promise for "liberating" Muslim societies, joining other mass political movements that

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[XIX] In a March and April 2002 survey of Arab and Muslim residents of Egypt, Kuwait, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, Indonesia, Iran and Pakistan and, for comparison, residents of France and Venezuela, Zogby International found high levels of approval for American culture, science and technology. In Iran, for example, 75 percent said they liked to watch American movies, while the French were the least likely of those surveyed to say they liked Hollywood. "It's not our people or values or culture Arabs [and Muslims] don't like. It's U.S. policy," James Zogby, the pollster, told reporters. "And it's not our movies and satellite TV that hurt America; those are helping us." Interestingly, younger Arabs as well as Muslims and Arabs who use the Internet had a more favorable view of the United States than their elders and non-Internet users. Yet very few of those polled said they approved of U.S. policy toward Palestine, including only 1 percent of Kuwaitis, 2 percent of Lebanese, 3 percent of Egyptians and Iranians, 5 percent of Saudis and Indonesians and 9 percent of Pakistanis. Support in France wasn't much higher: 12 percent. *See* www.zogby.com for reports.

have evolved over the years. As we have seen, the first hope was that secular nationalism would "liberate" Muslims. But while independence fulfilled political aspirations, it did not deliver social justice or modernization or usher in free democracies. Islamists say that nationalism sowed the seeds of disunity and conflict among Muslims by stressing the character and destiny of each Muslim society—instead of promoting a supranational Islamic unity.

During the colonial and postcolonial periods, as well as during the Cold War, socialism and Marxism were heralded as the only sure way of achieving these societal goals. But Islamists pointed out that local adaptations of socialism in Libya, Iraq, Syria, Egypt and elsewhere failed to fulfill their agendas. Islamists see socialism as being secular and materialistic, encouraging class warfare and the devaluation of Islam's traditions and ethical values. As an example, they cite the fate of Muslims under oppressive Soviet rule.

After the demise of the Soviet Union, capitalism and the opening of free markets in Eastern Europe and in Muslim societies were hailed as the next best way to bring about socioeconomic justice and democracy. Of course, free markets were no panacea. Islamists say that capitalism merely broadens the gap between rich and poor, disrupts traditional patterns of life and prompts a desertion from Islamic history and values.

As to democracy, Islamists cite its contradictions and the gap between theory and practice, especially in Algeria and Turkey. When election results favored the status quo, the elections were considered valid; when an Islamist party won, the results were nullified. Such violations of the spirit of electoral democracy, along with other arbitrary practices, have given Islamists grounds to denounce secular democracy, unregulated markets and materialism as utter failures or unsuitable to their societies' values.

Islamists consider secularism to be a political and social failure. They advocate placing politics under the aegis of religion—by replacing secular nationalist governments, as well as their laws and institutions, with Islamic ones. In this connection, Islamists have mobilized public opinion and pressured some secular governments—including those of Nigeria, Libya, the Sudan and Pakistan—to start replacing secular laws with Sharia, Islamic law, which regulates everything from banking rules to school curricula. As Muslim countries reintroduce Sharia, the Islamists hope that secular differences among states will begin to evaporate—and that Islamic law will eventually bring about a common ground and an international Muslim unity as well.

Islamist efforts advance not one, but many kinds of idealistic, moderate and extremist ideas. Moderate Islamists, for example, want a transcendent Muslim umma—confusing, as they do, Muslim solidarity with Muslim unity on all issues. As we have seen, such unity has never been achieved. If such complete unity could not be achieved in the early centuries of Islam, it will be even more difficult to achieve now by transcending all differences in class, race, ethnicity, culture, region and national identity. After all, even if some of the boundaries of Muslim states were artificially imposed by colonial powers, the borders have created their own reality after 50 years. And the fact is that since 1979, not a single Muslim state has followed Iran's revolutionary model.

Islamist extremists, for their part, have their own international agendas. Unable to unify any Muslim realm behind their militant cam-

paigns, they have attempted to form a confederacy of like-minded extremists in many Muslim countries. These extremists see themselves as responsible to no state, not even to the ulama, and they act as freelance warriors in the name of Islam. They hope to grow their movements by winning sympathy and support in Muslim realms, championing and occasionally fighting for popular Muslim causes in Palestine, Kashmir, Bosnia, Kosovo, Chechnya, Nagorno-Karabagh and elsewhere. Some of these militant Islamists are similar in some ways—including in the transparent futility of their goals—to 19th-century anarchists, who hoped their terrorism and assassinations would start a movement to overthrow governments, all of which, by their definition, were oppressive.

While they advocated universal goals, militant Islamists in the meantime have had some limited successes in pursuing narrowly focused goals within their own societies. The Islamic Salvation Front won elections in Algeria, but, as mentioned, their victories were undemocratically nullified by the military.[xx] In other Muslim realms, which have been jolted by population explosions and mass migrations to urban centers,[102] Islamism has presented itself as a viable alternative to ineffective governments in providing economic and social justice.

Currently, one of the most prominent Islamist groups is the Ikhwān al Muslimūn, the Muslim Brotherhood. It is reputed to be the Middle East's largest social movement, combining religious piety with political advocacy, along with the provision of a vast array of nonprofit services, including health clinics, hospitals, factories, schools, children's scouting programs and adult education.[103] The organization's membership includes a cross section of Muslim society, including well-educated, middle-class moderates. Its leaders are sharply critical of Western imperialism and capitalism as well as corrupt Muslim governments, but they work within the system and participate in electoral politics. One recent election slogan, "Islam is the solution," sums up the group's belief that social justice and economic improvements will require a social revolution based on an Islamic revival.[104]

Founded in 1928 in Egypt by Hassan al-Banna, the Brotherhood began with his aggressive message: "It is the nature of Islam to dominate, not to be dominated, to impose its laws on all nations and to extend its power to the entire planet." Even though the Brotherhood denied, and continues to deny, any involvement in terrorism or subversion, an attempted assassination of Egypt President Gamal Abdel Nasser was attributed to the Brotherhood, and Nasser subsequently jailed its leaders and banned the organization as a political party in 1954. But its members have gotten around the ban by campaigning in elections as independents, and the organization continued growing in Egypt and has formed branches in other Muslim countries as well.[105]

One of the leaders jailed in Egypt in 1954 was Sayyid Qutb, who is considered the father of modern militant Islamism. Curiously enough, he was radicalized by a 1948–1949 trip to the United States, which he took as an

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[xx] The Islamic Salvation Front's victories in Algeria resulted from winning a plurality of votes, only 3.25 million of 13 million votes cast. It is worth noting that only half of the Islamic Salvation Front's supporters approved of the establishment of an "Islamic state," according to a survey at the time. Outside of Iran, no Islamist party has won a majority of votes in any national election, Max Rodenbeck reported in 1998 in the *Washington Quarterly*. Even though Islamist parties probably attract many "protest" votes against mainstream parties, Islamist parties outside of Iran have not received more than 30 percent of the vote in internationally monitored elections in such nations as Yemen, Pakistan, Turkey and Jordan. Max Rodenbeck, "Is Islamism Losing Its Thunder?" *Washington Quarterly* 21, no. 2 (spring 1998): 177.

official in the Egyptian Ministry of Education to learn about our education system. He was infuriated by anti-Arab prejudice, but he was also shocked by women's freedom and church services—which he described as "entertainment centers and sexual playgrounds." When he returned to Egypt, he joined the Muslim Brotherhood.

For Qutb, according to Derek Hopwood, writing in the introduction to *Islam and Modernity*, "Islam and the West were incompatible, two camps between which coexistence was impossible. There could only be a struggle between believers and non-believers, between secularism, capitalism, and Islam. Modernization to him was the triumph of the West and the defeat of Islam.... He thought that the West, with its emphasis on science and technology, was obliterating the validity of religion."[106] Qutb predicted the death of capitalism and criticized all attempts to reconcile Islam with contemporary society.

Qutb was a prolific and best-selling writer—while in prison he completed a 30-volume commentary on the Qur'an entitled *Fi Zalal al-Qur'an (In the Shadow of the Qur'an).* He became a persuasive advocate for jihad, or holy war, as he used Islamic history to develop rationales for Muslims to overthrow governments they considered to be corrupt, Westernized or in violation of Islamic law.

His main concern was the "welfare" of Muslim countries, but he wrote polemics against Christians, Jews and "Western ways."[107]

Qutb spent 10 or 11 years in prison and, ultimately, was hanged in 1966 at the age of 60. His militant Islamist views, however, influenced an entire generation of militants, including the Taliban and al-Qaeda.[XXI]

Today, while the Muslim Brotherhood officially opposes terrorism, it calls openly for armed confrontation against Israel on behalf of the Palestinians. The Brotherhood has been linked to the emergence of some extremist organizations such as Hamas and Islamic Jihad.[108]

The Taliban's brand of jihadic Islamism involved calling on Islamists from around the world to create an Islamic state, based on the most puritanical and medievalist reading of the Qur'an, by leaders who had received only an elementary religious education in Pakistani refugee camps.[109] They gained control of most of Afghanistan in 1996 using religious discipline, tribal support, Pakistan's logistical and military aid and financial support from Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states. Even the United States welcomed the Taliban as a stabilizing force, only to be disappointed by their excesses and lack of any plan for strengthening the economy or establishing a representative gov-

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[XXI] Robert Irwin, writing in the *Guardian,* connects Qutb with his disciples in the Taliban and al-Qaeda. Irwin writes: "Qutb seems to have rejected all kinds of government, secular and theocratic, and on one reading at least, he seems to advocate a kind of anarcho-Islam. On the one hand, his writings have exercised a formative influence on the Taliban, who, under the leadership of the shy, rustic Mullah Omar, seem to have been concentrating on implementing the Shari'a in one country under the governance of the Mullahs. On the other hand, Qutb's works have also influenced [al-Qaeda], which, under the leadership of the flamboyant and camera-loving Bin Laden, seems to aim at a global jihad that will end with all men under direct, unmediated rule of Allah. In the context of that global programme, the destruction of the twin towers, spectacular atrocity though it was, is merely a by-blow in [al-Qaeda's] current campaign. Neither the US nor Israel is Bin Laden's primary target—rather it is Bin Laden's homeland, Saudi Arabia. The corrupt and repressive royal house, like the Mongol Ilkhanate of the 14th century, is damned as a Jahili scandal. Therefore, [al-Qaeda's] primary task is to liberate the holy cities of Mecca and Medina from their rule. Though the current policy of the princes of the Arabian peninsula seems to be to sit on their hands and hope that [al-Qaeda] and its allies will pick on someone else first, it is unlikely that they will be so lucky." Robert Irwin, "Is This the Man Who Inspired Bin Laden?," *Guardian,* November 1, 2001, www.guardian.co.uk/g2/story/0,3604,584478,00.html. *See also* Malise Ruthven, *A Fury for God: The Islamist Attack on America* (London: Granta, 2002).

ernment—not to mention that they allowed Afghanistan to become a haven for al-Qaeda. The Taliban used sophisticated weapons and communications equipment—some of it left over from the U.S.-backed fight against the Soviet Union—but otherwise their outlook was starkly anti-modern.

The Taliban hung televisions from trees. They banned music, picnics, wedding parties, pet birds, paper bags, the wearing of white socks, the shaving of beards, magazines, newspapers, most books and children's toys. They closed schools for girls and banned women from working outside their homes. They cut off women's thumbs for wearing nail polish.[110] They executed Muslims who left "the faith," including members of the Shii denomination called *Hazaras*. UNICEF reported that half of Afghan children had personally witnessed torture.[111] This "human rights catastrophe," as Amnesty International called it, was carried out in the name of purifying Islam as a theocracy.[112]

But even before September 11, the Taliban had been rejected as extremist by mainstream Muslim nations. Of the 56 member nations in the Organization of the Islamic Conference, only 3 states recognized the Taliban—Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emirates—and by November 2001, none did.[113] At one time, Iran even threatened to invade Afghanistan and eliminate the Taliban for having persecuted Shii citizens and killed Iranian diplomats, but international pressure, including that from the United States, prevented it.[114]

For many people, especially Westerners, it is often difficult to distinguish between activist *Islamist* parties, which promote Islam as an ideology in a theocratic state, and *Islamic* parties, whose traditional members want their *secular* political systems to reflect the moral principles of their religion. In Indonesia, for example, Abd al-Rahman Wahid, the leader of one of the world's largest Islamic organizations, Nahdatul Ulama, won in the 1999 elections that followed the demise of General Suharto's military regime. By comparison, an Islamist party that campaigned for replacing secular laws with Sharia won only 1.7 percent of the vote.[115] For his part, Wahid did not advocate a program of Islamizing the secular system or institutions, and he subsequently left office according to a democratic process in 2001.[116] Nahdatul Ulama, founded in 1926, and Muhammadiyah, founded in 1912, are Indonesia's mainstream parties, with a combined membership of between 60 million and 80 million. Since September 11, these two relatively tolerant and liberal parties have been working together to refute the messages from extremist groups, including Laskar Jihad and its few thousand members.[117]

A Faltering Mass Movement?

As a mass movement, Islamism has struggled with its many competing constituencies and agendas. Starting in the mid– to late 20th century, according to Gilles Kepel, Islamism grew with support from three critical constituencies: intellectuals who promoted an Islamist theocracy; devout middle-class professionals who had fared poorly in the postcolonial period and wanted to rectify that by having a greater voice in an Islamist government; and large numbers of disgruntled, rebellious urban youths who saw secular regimes as hopelessly corrupt and unsalvageable.

The movement's greatest success was Ayatullah Khomeini's Islamist revolution in Iran. Islamist movements gained international momentum as Iran attempted to export its

revolution to other Muslim societies. The leading conservative force to stop the spread of the revolution was Saudi Arabia's dynasty and the orthodox Wahhabi ulama. After all, these Sunni Muslims could not afford to see a Shii model for an Islamic state gain momentum as *the* model. As a result, the Saudis began exporting their own model, which combined a secular monarchy with puritanical Wahhabism—along with generous financial aid for Islamist organizations, religious schools and social services in Pakistan, Central Asia and elsewhere. The Saudi strategy had the benefit of winning public support at home, in other secular Muslim nations and even in the United States—while at the same time encouraging Islamists to exhaust their energy for militant campaigns outside the Saudi kingdom.

The rivalry between Iran and Saudi Arabia kept the two distinct Islamist movements alive and, in a collaboration during the 1980s, the movements joined together in a jihad against the Soviets in Afghanistan. After the Soviet defeat, though, the movement fractured as its constituencies split because of their inherent disagreement over goals and strategies—with the youthful and battle-hardened mujahedin, "holy" warriors, wanting to violently replace corrupt systems with Islamic states, and the middle classes wanting to peacefully "paint the system green," as Kepel says, referring to Muslims' symbolic use of green, the color of the Prophet Muhammad's flag. In Kepel's assessment, Islamism declined as a mass political movement as violence and terrorism spread around the world; as the Taliban in Afghanistan and another Islamist regime in the Sudan evolved into military dictatorships; and as Iran's electorate asserted its will by electing moderate leaders to ease rigid religious rules and promote liberal democratic processes.[xxii] The "high season of jihad," Kepel says, was ending in many Muslim countries between 1995 and 1997. To Kepel, the terrorist attacks on September 11 represented not a growing threat from Islamism, but the reverse, a symbol of Islamism's "isolation, fragmentation and decline." He acknowledges that Islamist terrorism still poses a threat, but he predicts that without public support, these extremists will ultimately fade away. It is an optimistic view, but one hopes his analysis is correct.[118]

Yet in the midst of these competing mass movements, we have seen the emergence of a third kind of militant Islamism, one that does not need a mass movement to accomplish its goals with terrorism. These are Islamists who have no return addresses. They have emerged when the vulnerabilities of our global societies and sophisticated technologies can be used to wreak havoc for specific, general and sometimes even unspecified goals.

We also know full well that the use and abuse of religion, including Islam, as an ideological weapon is not new and is not likely to go away. Even Lenin, in 1919–1920,

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[xxii] Islamist political systems, after all, set themselves very difficult standards to meet, Max Rodenbeck has written. "The basic tenet of Islamism—that government should be accountable to God's rules—may ultimately prove the movement's greatest weakness," he wrote. "It is easy enough to point out other people's infringements of those rules. It is a far more difficult thing to observe them, all the time, yourself. Unless of course, it is you who defines the rules—but the history of Islam shows that no one since the time of the Prophet has been able to monopolize the interpretation of the scriptures that contain *shari'a's* rules. The cry that is so often directed by Islamists at governments—'Your way is not the way of Islam'—can be and is indeed raised by rival movements against each other. So has it been for fourteen centuries and so, doubtless, will it continue to be. And yet the practical message implied by today's Islamist challenge, which is that governments in most Muslim countries are not accountable enough to anyone, is well worth considering. These are governments which, in the words of Nazih Ayubi, tend to combine omnipotence with incompetence. In seeking to make them accountable to God, Islamism has also pushed them to be more accountable to their people." Max Rodenbeck, "Is Islamism Losing Its Thunder?" *Washington Quarterly* 21, no. 2 (spring 1998): 177.

attempted to use Islam as a vehicle for what was called the "national liberation" of the peoples of the East. During the Cold War, of course, the United States and the West used Islam to contain Communism. Iran and other Muslim nations have used Islam to promote capitalism and defend private property, with the ulama and politicians pointing out that the Prophet Muhammad was a merchant. We have also seen Islam used to support socialism and dictatorships—even to the extent that during the Persian Gulf War in 1991 the secular, socialist party of Saddam Hussein added *Allah Akbar*, "God is Great," to the Iraqi flag.[119] Later, in the mid-1990s, Hussein banned the serving of alcohol in public places and established a radio station dedicated to religious programs.[120] So it is not surprising that now there are many individuals and groups, both secular and Islamist, attempting to use Islam as a mobilizing tool as well as a vehicle for their particular political ideologies, beliefs or interests—however far-fetched they may be.

Strategies for Promoting Islamism

Parties that exploit Islam receive a wide audience for their messages largely because there are so many unresolved political issues left over from the postcolonial and post-Communist eras. Following the demise of the Soviet Union—and 150 years of Russian and Soviet efforts to dominate, marginalize and even eliminate Islam—Islamists found a great opportunity to fill the power vacuum in Central Asian republics.[121] Elsewhere, we have seen a widespread sense of outrage over the treatment of Muslims in Kashmir, Palestine, Chechnya, Bosnia and Kosovo. So it is we hear some militant Islamists say, essentially: God has given us many people, wealth and intelligence. We need to organize ourselves into a great force, equipped with nuclear weapons, because that is the only way the great powers will help rectify "historical injustices."

In this connection, it is not surprising, therefore, that moderate and militant Islamists have seized on some major issues to galvanize support:

1. The 50-year saga of the Palestinian conflict, including the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and the plight of the refugees, has provided Islamists with a compelling narrative to win the sympathy of Muslims worldwide. Islamists have used that public sympathy to undermine secular Arab regimes, which are blamed for their inability to resolve the Palestine issue by defeating or containing Israel. Islamists also exploit the plight of Palestinians as a way to destroy confidence in the United Nations and the great powers, accusing them all of being unable or unwilling to enforce various UN resolutions pertaining to the conflict and the creation of a Palestinian state.
2. Kashmir—another blood-splattered, half-century-old issue—has given Islamists yet another tragic situation to exploit. They point to the "mistreatment" of Muslims and the inability of the UN and great powers to respond to the "legitimate aspirations of the people of Kashmir" by granting them the right of self-determination.
3. In addition, the presence of "infidels"—U.S. military forces—in the Arabian peninsula is a very sore point for many Islamists. They frequently portray the U.S. presence as an insulting, aggressive intrusion on the umma near the very home of the Prophet and holy cities of Islam.

Islamists dismiss or ignore all efforts by the United States and other Western nations to protect Muslim and human rights.[XXIII] Actually, Islamists argue that the "continuing horror" in both Palestine and Kashmir is due to an anti-Muslim "conspiracy" between the great powers and some of their "client" states—including not only Israel and India, but also pro-Western Arab and Muslim states. This "collusion," Islamists say, is what prevents a "just resolution" of these festering issues. And, in an extraordinary abuse of Islam, militant Islamists and non-Islamists, as well, have promoted suicide bombing as a form of martyrdom.[XXIV]

Making matters worse, Islamists are not alone in exploiting the Palestinian and Kashmiri issues. Various regimes in the Middle East and South Asia have used these hostilities as justification for vast military expenditures—citing the heightened requirement for self-defense or even the possibility of needing to confront Israel, Pakistan or India. But, of course, some political parties and regimes have used these issues to rationalize a military buildup that strengthens their hold on political power—and as an excuse for failing to address the socioeconomic needs of their people.

Clearly, a just resolution of the issues in Palestine—and an international order guaranteeing it—is crucial for the stability of the Middle East and the long-term safety of Israel. As President Bush noted recently, "It is untenable for Israeli citizens to live in terror. It is untenable for Palestinians to live in squalor and occupation.... Permanent occupation threatens Israel's identity and democracy. A stable, peaceful Palestinian state is necessary to achieve the security that Israel longs for."[122] Many people, even in Israel, have called for a Palestinian state, but many questions remain unanswered, including what kind of state and government structure the Palestinians want.[123]

Kashmir is another powder keg, and resolution of the dispute is critically needed to prevent a nuclear war between Pakistan and India. With these issues resolved, and, thus, the removal of excuses for excessive military budgets, ruling regimes will have to address long-neglected domestic priorities—or face the consequences of political upheaval.

That said, while the resolution of these issues would bring peace and stability, it would not immediately solve enormous domestic

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[XXIII] When Islamists condemn the "West's indifference" toward the plight of Muslims, they conveniently ignore American and European efforts in Chechnya, Bosnia and Kosovo. They also ignore U.S. support of Afghans in their struggle with the Soviet Union and the U.S.- led international coalition that rescued Kuwait, with its largely traditional Muslim population, from the harsh grip of secular, socialist Iraq.

[XXIV] Amir Taheri, author of *The Cauldron: Middle East Behind the Headlines* (London: Hutchinson, 1988), recently described the religious problem with promoting suicide bombers as Muslim martyrs. In "Semantics of Murder" (*Wall Street Journal*, May 8, 2002), he noted that Islam expressly forbids suicide as an "unpardonable sin," along with cannibalism, murder, incest and rape. As a result, Taheri says, the "apologists of terror" have stopped using *entehari*, meaning "suicidal," and have coined the term *etsesh'had*, which literally means "affidavit," to convey the idea of "martyr-like." They do not use *shahid*, the word for "martyr" or "witness," as it is imbued with religious meanings. Allah, after all, is considered the First Shahid, and in Islamic history only a dozen or so Muslims have been considered shahid for having fallen in battle while defending the faith. For suicide bombing to be formally accepted in Islam, Taheri says, the practice would have to be defined, given rules, justified by Islamic law and then approved by a consensus among Muslim communities—"something the prophets of terror will never secure." Yet, as Taheri himself notes, this barrier has not stopped many Muslim politicians: "Foreign ministers from 57 Muslim countries met in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, this month with the stated intention of defining terrorism and distancing Islam from terror. Instead, they ended up endorsing the suicide bombers." Also worth noting is Shibley Telhami's observation in *The New York Times* ("Why Suicide Terrorism Takes Root," April 4, 2002, p. A23) that suicide bombing in Palestine has become a secular tactic as well. "From nonreligious young women to members of the semi-Marxist Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine to the secular Al Aksa Martyrs Brigades, groups and individuals have begun emulating the suicides of Hamas, the radical Islamist group.... Like all terrorism, suicide bombings must be delegitimized by Arab societies and stopped because no ends can justify these horrific means. At the same time, there has to be a way of dealing with the realities that have made suicide bombings acceptable to a large number of Palestinians and others." *See also* Malise Ruthven, *A Fury for God: The Islamist Attack on America* (London: Granta, 2002).

problems. On the contrary, it would initially focus public attention on the need to deal with internal factors, including corruption, misrule, endemic inequalities, lack of political participation and inadequate health, education and welfare systems. Nor would peace in Palestine and Kashmir solve other inter-Muslim tensions and conflicts over irredentist ethnic and nationalist movements or disputes about borders and resources such as oil and water. Nor, of course, will all the militant Islamists pack their bags and retire. After all, radical ideologies do not always spring from poverty and despair; on the contrary, they attract individuals who often have relatively good educations and incomes.[xxv] Though their numbers would be diminished as they lost public support, some extremists would certainly look for other issues to stir up and exploit as they continued to dream about creating some great militant Islamic state that would unite the entire umma.

A "Clash of Civilizations"?

Is there a monolithic Islam? If so, does it pose a real threat to the West? Yes to both questions, according to clash-of-civilization theorists, most notably Samuel P. Huntington in *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* and in his more recent writing. He follows Arnold Toynbee's scholarship but deduces a different conclusion. Civilizations, instead of becoming bridges of understanding, become walls of separation, destined to spur clashes, he says.

Huntington theorizes that wars of politics and ideology have, with the fall of Communism, yielded to wars between cultures. "Cultural commonalities and differences shape the interests, antagonisms and associations of states," he writes.[124] In forecasting the West's decline, he contemplates that Muslim and Asian countries will align themselves against the West and there will be some "swing" civilizations, including Japan, Russia and India. A single form of virulent Islamism, in this theory, then, has replaced Communism, giving us Cold War II. The "Green Menace," we are told, has replaced the "Red Menace."

Huntington and others who write about a "clash of civilizations" do not recognize that class, tribal, family, personal, ethnic, cultural, economic and national interests have always defied a unity of purpose that transcends all these divisions. As a matter of fact, as we have seen, instances when the Muslim world was a unified monolith have been extremely rare. Throughout Islamic history, the gravitational pull of regional, dynastic and, since the

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[xxv] The terrorists who participated in the September 11 attacks, for example, were mostly well-educated men from middle-class families in Saudi Arabia. Recent studies also confirm that a relatively high level of education and income is common among members of terrorist organizations in many parts of the world, including Hezbollah in Palestine, Gush Emunim in Israel, the Japanese Red Army and Italy's Red Brigades. Alan Krueger and Jitka Maleckova, "Education, Poverty, Political Violence and Terrorism: Is There a Causal Connection?," May 2002 study, www.wws.princeton.edu/~rpds/education.pdf. *See also* Robert J. Barro, "The Myth That Poverty Breeds Terrorism," *BusinessWeek*, June 10, 2002, p. 26.

19th century, nationalist interests have consistently outweighed the spiritual affiliations of some idealized, transcendent, organic umma. If history is a guide, it shows that in Islam, as in most major religions, there is a broad gulf between the ideal of unity and the realities on the ground.

Even during the Golden Age of Islam, at the height of the Abbasid empire, there were rival caliphates in Córdoba and in North Africa, as well as ethnically based Turkic and Iranian dynasties that challenged Baghdad's authority and at times reduced the Caliph to a mere figurehead. Subsequently, there were divisions among the Mughal empire, the Shii Safavid empire and the Ottoman empire. Those who theorize about "clashing civilizations" conveniently ignore that civilizations are not monolithic entities. Even during the period of the Crusades and in subsequent centuries, we see "unholy alliances" between Islam and the West—between Muslim rulers and principalities and their Christian counterparts against fellow Muslims and fellow Christians. As late as the 16th through the 19th centuries, various European Christian powers attempted to secure the alliance of the Ottoman or Persian empires against each other.[XXVI]

The 20th century—humanity's bloodiest, with war and genocide taking the lives of an estimated 167 million people[125]—not only shattered the "unity" of the West, it also swept up Muslim societies in civil wars and violent internecine conflicts. Ancient divisions, conflicts and rivalries both in the West and in Muslim societies are conveniently ignored by purveyors of a conflict among civilizations because these divisions blur or complicate the neat theories that create powerful myths about powerful enemies. But let us not forget the hostilities between Sunni and Shii Muslims; Iranians and Iraqis; Iranians and Arabs; Iranians and Turks; Iranians and the Taliban; Egypt and the Sudan; Egypt and Libya; the Sudan and Somalia; Mauritania and Morocco; Berbers and other Moroccan tribes; and Pakistan and Bangladesh, along with the tribal wars in Afghanistan and the struggles of Kurds in Iran, Turkey and Iraq.[126]

Even al-Afghani, the first theorist of Pan-Islamism, was not advocating war with the West—he was a modernist who sought Muslim unity to promote a progressive society based on science, liberty and equality for all partners.

Let us remember that there is neither a single accepted Islamic theology, nor a single interpretation of Islamic law, nor a single issue around which all Muslim societies are willing to place their people, future or fortune. Even the preservation of Muslim holy places—cities like Mecca and Medina—has sometimes been a bitter source of divisive politics among Muslims, especially the Saudi rulers and Hashemites, the former guardians of the holy places.[127]

The fact is that there is no unified "Muslim world" or unified Muslim ideology—just as we know there is no unified "Christian world" or unified Christian ideology, no unified

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[XXVI] For example, after Philip II of Spain conquered Portugal, his archenemy, Queen Elizabeth I of England, opened diplomatic negotiations with the Ottoman empire. She called Philip "that arch-idolater" and befriended Sultan Murad of the Ottoman empire as "the unconquered and most puissant defender of the true faith against the idolaters." *See* Lord Kinross, *The Ottoman Centuries: The Rise and Fall of the Turkish Empire* (New York: Morrow Quill Paperbacks, 1977), pp. 321, 324. For a further discussion of Muslim/Christian alliances, *see* Fawaz A. Gerges, *America and Political Islam: Clash of Cultures or Clash of Interests?* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), chapter 3, "Islam and Muslims in the Mind of America."

"Buddhist world" or unified Buddhist ideology, no unified "Jewish world" or unified Jewish ideology.

Muslim diversity and division is a historical fact, and as Schwedler puts it, "To the extent that Islam represents a single collective identity, that identity is characterized by so many complexities and diversities as to be virtually useless analytically." Put another way, Edward W. Said asks: "How really useful is 'Islam' as a concept for understanding Morocco *and* Saudi Arabia *and* Syria *and* Indonesia? If we come to realize that, as many scholars have recently noted, Islamic doctrine can be seen as justifying capitalism as well as socialism, militancy as well as fatalism, ecumenism as well as exclusivism, we begin to sense the tremendous lag between academic descriptions of Islam (that are inevitably caricatured in the media) and the particular realities to be found within the Islamic world."[128] With any reflection, then, we can see that it is outlandish to make sweeping generalizations about 1.2 billion people on the basis of their religion alone.

Paradoxically, there is agreement between those nostalgic Cold Warriors who see the "Green Menace" replacing the "Red Menace" and militant Islamists who seek to create a worldwide Muslim unity: both like to see Islam as a monolith. The cold warriors conflate militant Islamism with all of Islam, while militant Islamists dream of a Pan-Islamic movement that creates *one* Muslim umma under *one* Caliphate, or one authority, ruling from the Atlantic Ocean to the China Sea. The latter is not a new idea—surfacing for the most part soon after the demise of the Ottoman Caliphate in 1924—but the idea, whether it's considered utopian or totalitarian, has made little headway in nearly 14 centuries. We cannot and should not underestimate the power of secular states, institutions and cultures. Nor should we ignore the weight of history that stands firmly in the way of both a transcendent umma and a neatly delineated "clash of civilizations."

Amartya Sen, the 1998 Nobel Prize winner in economics, points out that Huntington and other clash-of-civilization theorists grossly confuse civilization with religion—and then grossly oversimplify the world's religions. Huntington's description of India as a "Hindu civilization" is, Sen declares, "an epistemic and historical absurdity." India's Muslim population, Sen notes, is greater than the combined populations of Britain and France. There are also significant populations of Sikhs, Jains and Buddhists. Christians arrived in India two centuries before they arrived in Britain, and Jews came with the fall of Jerusalem a thousand years ago. Sen writes:

> The reliance on civilizational partitioning fails badly.... First, the classifications are often based on an extraordinary epistemic crudeness and an extreme historical innocence. The diversity of traditions *within* distinct civilizations is effectively ignored, and major global interactions in science, technology, mathematics and literature over millennia are made to disappear so as to construct a parochial view of the uniqueness of Western civilization.
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> Second, there is a basic methodological problem involved in the implicit presumption that a civilizational partitioning is the uniquely relevant distinction, and must swamp other ways of identifying people....
>
> Third, there is a remarkable neglect of the role of choice and reasoning in decisions regarding what importance to attach to the membership of any particular group, or to

any particular identity (among many others). By adopting a unique and allegedly predominant way of categorizing people, civilizational partitioning can materially contribute to the conflicts in the world. To deny choice when it does exist is not only an epistemic failure (a misunderstanding of what the world is like); it is also an ethical delinquency and a political dereliction of responsibility....

In a well-known interview, Peter Sellers once remarked: "There used to be a 'me' but I had it surgically removed." In their respective attempts to impose a single and unique identity on us, the surgical removal of the actual "me" is done by others—the religious fundamentalist, the nationalist extremist,... the sectarian provocateur. We have to resist such an imprisonment. We must insist upon the liberty to see ourselves as we would choose to see ourselves.... The central issue, in sum, is freedom.[129]

Muslim Quests for Democracy

Apart from the challenges presented by globalization, the biggest challenge for moderate Islamists seems to be figuring out how to adapt the principles of democracy to their cultures and traditions. As John Esposito and John Voll write, "Religious resurgence and democratization are two of the most important developments of the final decades of the twentieth century." Moreover, the authors state, "The demand for democracy, the growth of prodemocracy movements, is now evident throughout much of the Muslim world."[130]

But why has the process of democratization and modernization been so slow, or, in some places, nonexistent? Shireen T. Hunter summarizes the debate taking place both in Western and Muslim societies:

> Some believe that because of its fusion of temporal and spiritual realms, Islam is incompatible with modernity and democracy. This group also notes that all religious systems that put divinely inspired law and ethics above those developed by humans are intrinsically incompatible with rationalist thinking, and thus also with modernity and democratization.
>
> Others note that in reality there was a much clearer distinction between politics and religion in the Muslim world than that which existed in Christendom until the advent of the Age of Reason. The question is whether Islam is any more dogmatic than other religions. The first group believes the answer to this question is yes, while the latter maintains that the answer is no.
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> An impartial reading of the history of both the Muslim world and the West shows that the processes of modernization and democratization have more to do with stages of economic change and their social and cultural consequences than with peculiarities of different religions.... Nevertheless, literalist and reductionist interpretations of key Islamic injunctions have been used by some Muslims to prevent the advancement of both processes. The challenge is to encourage the more progressive and liberal trends within Islam in order to help in the Muslim world's move toward modernization and democracy.[131]

Reminding us of some of the historical context for this debate, Abdullahi Ahmed An-Na'im, a political dissident from the Sudan who teaches at Emory School of Law, recently said that 19th- and 20th-century politics, not

religion, largely explains the slow pace of modernization and democratization. "Every Muslim country today was either colonized by the West or subjected to tremendous Western control," he said. "Colonialism was not in the business of promoting democratic values or institutions. And after independence, you get oppressive regimes that are supported by Western powers for strategic interests. So people never had a chance to develop these values and processes.... Post-colonialism, not Islam, is what's really at issue here. Islam just happens to be the religion of a people who have been denied the possibility of experimenting and learning."[132]

In any event, we now see much experimenting and learning taking place in many Muslim societies. And, of course, discussions about whether democracy is compatible with Islam are not unique to Muslim nations, as similar questions have been raised in the past about many other nations, including Russia and China. Even the nature of democracy is subject to debate, for there is no universally accepted, single operating model of democracy. Nor, of course, is the West free from intolerance in their democracies; Catholics, for example, are still prevented from serving as prime ministers in Britain.[133] But the generally accepted principles of democracy, among most Muslim societies as well, include representative government, free political parties, free elections, free press, protection of minorities, a balance of power among the executive, independent judiciary and legislative branches of government—and, above all, the rule of law.

Democracy is not a total stranger to Muslim societies—and in some ways, they have been leaders.[XXVII] For while the Taliban refused to allow women even to leave their homes alone, never mind refusing them the right to vote—next door, in Pakistan, women not only had the right to vote, but could be elected to high office. During the last 20 years, women have held the highest elected offices in Pakistan, Bangladesh, Turkey and Indonesia.[134] But even in these enlightened states, female leaders like Indonesia's current president, Megawati Sukarnoputri, often face intense criticism from conservative political and religious leaders.[135]

In the Muslim debate about democracy, modernists and traditionalists have very different ideas about democracy. Some traditionalists, in principle, see no separation between state and religion, with God being the sovereign authority, not the people. Other Muslim scholars and rulers—especially the monarchs and dictators—have often rejected Western-style democracy as being too divisive and too centered on the individual and the temporal, materialistic world. They cling to the old notion that their authority comes not from the people alone, but also from their historic role as defenders of the Muslim faith and communities.

Some even welcome Benito Mussolini's notion of a state and its single official party as an "antiparty party"—one party in charge of every aspect of society, including religion. As Mussolini wrote, "The Fascist State organizes

[XXVII] Westerners tend to hear a disproportionate amount of news about the Persian Gulf's emirs, sheikhs and sultans, but there are a wide variety of political systems operating in Muslim nations. In addition to democracies in Bangladesh, Turkey and Senegal, there are emerging democracies in Albania and Indonesia. There are also other complex political systems: authoritarian states with democratic elements in Algeria, Egypt and Azerbaijan; authoritarian regimes in Iraq, Syria and Libya; monarchies in Bahrain, Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emirates; monarchies with some democratic elements in Jordan, Malaysia and Morocco; a theocracy with democratic elements in Iran; and, finally, systems in flux, such as the shift in Nigeria from military to civilian rule and Pakistan's suspension of democracy by the military. *See* the *CIA World Factbook* (2001) and U.S. State Department, as cited in "A Spectrum of Governments in the Islamic World," *The New York Times*, November 23, 2001.

the nation, but leaves a sufficient margin of liberty to the individual; the latter is deprived of all useless and possibly harmful freedom, but retains what is essential; the deciding power in this question cannot be the individual, but the State alone."[136]

According to one of the most famous traditional political theorists, Abu al-Ala al-Mawdudi, the ideal Islamic state would be the "kingdom of God" or a theocracy.[137] In this kingdom, "the entire Muslim population runs the state in accordance with the Book of God and the practice of His Prophet. If I were permitted to coin a new term, I would describe this system of government as 'theo-democracy,' that is to say a divine democratic government, because under it the Muslims have been given a limited popular sovereignty under the suzerainty of God."

Modernist scholars, including Rifa'a al-Tahtawi in 19th-century Egypt, often believed that Western ideas were compatible with Islam because these scholars recognized Islam's large contributions to Western civilization. In this way, modernist scholars put great emphasis on the exercise of reason and knowledge—in every area, including understanding Qur'an and the Prophet's sayings and searching the entire history of Islam for insights.

Another important modernist and religious reformer was Muhammad Abduh (1849–1905). He and other scholars—notably Sayyid Jamal ad-Din al-Afghani in the Middle East and Sayyid Ahmed Khan and Muhammad Iqbal on the Indian subcontinent—called for reopening the "gates of ijtihad," interpretation of holy texts, as a critical step in modernizing Islam. Abduh, who became the Grand Mufti in Egypt in 1889, wrote that the Qur'an was not entirely God's Word, but also included the Prophet Muhammad's own fallible human thinking on the organization of society and its institutions. Thus, he argued that one could be both a pious Muslim and a modernist. He once wrote, "The Book gives us all that God permits us, or is essential for us, to know about His attributes. But, it does not require our acceptance of its contents simply on the ground of its own statement of them. On the contrary, it offers arguments and evidence.... It spoke to the rational mind and alerted the intelligence."

Abduh and his protégé, Rashid Rida (1865–1935), published *al-Manar*, a journal that helped to inspire modernist intellectuals from North Africa to Indonesia.[138]

At the start of the 20th century, Abduh and al-Afghani founded a reform movement called Salafiyyah (from *salaf as-salihiin*, meaning "the pious ancestors") that gained influence in many Muslim realms. Salafiyyah sought modernization within Islamic principles and reason. Interestingly, its followers included Qasim Amin (1863–1908), who wrote two books with feminist themes: *The Emancipation of Women*, and *The New Woman*.[139]

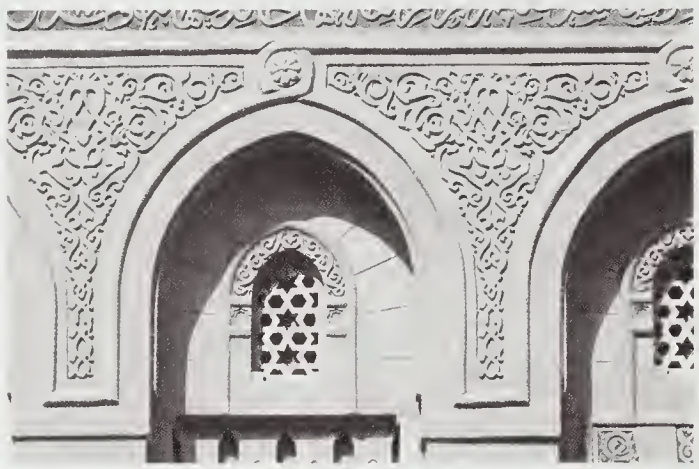
More recently, Mahmoud Mohammad Taha, founder of a prodemocracy movement in the Sudan, maintained that there had to be a clear separation between religion and state if religious practice and public discussion were to thrive. He was hanged for heresy in 1985. Abdullahi Ahmed An-Na'im, at Emory School of Law, considers Taha a mentor and says, "The [Qur'an] is a powerful sacred text, but we must recognize that our understanding of it is both historically conditioned and shaped by human agency."[140]

There are other Muslim intellectuals who are trying to cope with the major challenges facing Islam, especially as these relate to the interaction between modernity and tradition. For example, Muhammad al-Ghazali, a former member of the Muslim Brotherhood, has come out for selective modernization, especially in regard to science and technological progress, while reserving the right to disagree with some philosophical elements in the West. Perhaps the most impressive Muslim intellectual today is Mohamed Talbi. He believes that balance is possible and inevitable between faith and reason, that faith is the choice of the individual and does not conflict with or constrain reason. "There is," he says, "no meaning to faith if there is no freedom or choice. The renewal of Islam is more to do with questions of the social and political order than with questions of theology which remain entirely sound. Muslims have suffered because they have used Islam politically." Talbi also considers that all knowledge is provisional, therefore all knowers must live with some degree of uncertainty with respect to their knowledge. Thus he rejects absolutism. Talbi is also an advocate of pluralism and religious tolerance, for man, he says, is by nature a pluralist.[141]

Talbi is not alone. There are at least five other major Muslim intellectuals who have taken up the difficult issues around Islam and modernity. Mohamed Charfi, the former minister of education of Tunisia, has written eloquently on Islam and liberty, Islam and the state and Islam and the law, but most important of all, he has highlighted the necessity to modernize the educational systems of all Muslim countries as an urgent and essential matter in order to ensure the progress of Muslim societies. He stresses that Islam has been misinterpreted, that it is not incompatible with either reason, science, progress or modernity.[142]

The other outstanding intellectuals who, along with Talbi and Charfi, are in the forefront of grappling with the intellectual challenges facing Islamic societies are, interestingly, also North African. One is Mohammed Arkoun, whose works—*Lectures du Coran* (Tunis: G.-P. Maisonneuve et Larose, 1991, 2nd ed.), *Rethinking Islam: Common Questions, Uncommon Answers* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1993) and *La pensée arabe* (Paris: PUF, 1996)—have stimulated timely and widespread intellectual dialogue. Abdou Filali-Ansary is equally influential; his works, which include *L'Islam est-il hostile à la laïcité?* (Morocco: Le Fennec, 1996; Sindbad, 2002) and *Par souci de clarté: A propos des sociétés musulmanes contemporaines* (Morocco: Le Fennec, 2001), are the subject of international debate.

Yet another important voice is that of 'Abd al-Karim Soroush, whose writings include *Reason, Freedom and Democracy in Islam* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000). He has criticized the "sanctimonious piety" of those who have sought to use religion to assert authoritarian power and "to disguise some of their less pious, self-serving economic interests." Soroush points out that while the establishment claims that politics is serving Islam, the reverse is actually true: currently, it is religion that is being manipulated to serve politics. Therefore, many religious interpretations are becoming corrupted by political and economic interests. Soroush also is an uncompromising champion of human rights. He says, "A religion that is oblivious to human rights (including the need for humanity for freedom and justice) is not tenable in the modern world. In other words, religion needs to be



right not only logically but also ethically…we cannot evade rational, moral and extrareligious principles and reasoning about human rights.... A rule that is not just is not religious."[143]

Fatima Mernissi, who teaches sociology at the University of Mohammed V in Rabat, Morocco, has raised fundamental issues about women and Islam, concluding in her book *The Veil and the Male Elite: A Feminist Interpretation of Women's Rights in Islam* (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, Inc., 1991) that the quest for women's full participation in the political and social affairs of their countries "stems from no imported Western values, but is a true part of the Muslim tradition."

Modernists also maintain that Islam is imbued with ancient traditions that lay the foundation for a secular democracy. They include the principles that Muslims consult others for mutual understanding in making decisions; that they seek consensus through collective judgment (though in practice this has often meant seeking consensus among Islamic scholars); and that as times and circumstances bring new problems, humanity has the God-given rational faculty to find answers by independently consulting the Qur'an and the Prophet's teachings.[144] "The principles of Islam are dynamic, it is our approach which has become static," the reformer Altaf Gauhar has written.[145] In a compromise position, some scholars argue for a gradual introduction of democracy, learning from the "deficiencies" and "inefficiencies" of Western democracies in order not to repeat them, while also maintaining social stability.

Muslim societies and states, thus, face many challenging questions. How can they cope with the principles of democracy, such as voting and the rule of the majority? And what if in secular societies Islamist parties win democratic elections—should they then be banned, as they have been in Turkey and Algeria? Then again, why should members of an Islamist party respect the spirit of democracy if it does not allow them to win "free" elections? Similarly, how could one guarantee that an Islamist party coming into power would relinquish it if that party, in turn, is subsequently challenged and defeated at the polls? Do Islamists favor "one person, one vote, one time"?[146]

Clearly, then, the delicate relationship between mosque and state as well as the principles of Islamic and secular law will be paramount in all Muslim discussions about democracy. Related to that is another democratic necessity: an informed electorate. The question is whether Muslim states will mandate freedom of speech and free education as rights for all and, if they do, whether they have the means to meet such goals. If they cannot or will not provide an adequate secular school system, will they relegate education, by default or decree, to the clerical establishment and its schools, the madrasa, with their peculiar and parochial curricula?

Time to Deal with Tough Questions

Jalal al-Din Rumi, the 13th-century Sufi scholar—and, interestingly, America's best-selling poet today—once wrote: "Start a huge foolish project, like Noah."[147] The worldwide challenge, not only for Muslim societies, but for all societies and democracies, is to come to grips with economic justice and freedom as well as the interplay of modernism and traditionalism, secularism and religion, and individual rights and societal or collective rights.

For Muslim societies, the immediate challenge is assuming responsibility for modernizing their economies and governing structures. In this connection, General Pervez Musharraf, Pakistan's leader, recently challenged his people to consider fundamental options: "The day of reckoning has come. Do we want Pakistan to become a theocratic state? Do we believe that religious education alone is enough for governance? Or do we want Pakistan to emerge as a progressive and dynamic Islamic welfare state?" Militant Islamists, he added, "did nothing except contribute to bloodshed in Afghanistan. I ask of them whether they know anything other than disruption and sowing seeds of hatred. Does Islam preach this?"[148]

There is a healthy debate in Muslim societies about the proper role of religion in the state. Questions include: How can Muslim authorities reconcile the disagreements among secular law, tribal law, local customs, Islamic law and international law? Does Islamic law transcend the others or accommodate them? What about dogmatic, militant Islamists? What is their place in democratic society? How does Islam discourage or prevent ordinary citizens and groups from presuming to interpret Islamic law and issuing legal opinions—and calls for holy war? What is the definition of a national liberation movement? How is such a movement distinguished from terrorism? What is the position of Islamic societies on suicide, which most religions—including Islam—condemn as a sin?

ISLAM HAS BEEN HIJACKED, ONLY MUSLIMS CAN SAVE IT, was the headline in the *National Journal* above a story stating that the Muslim leaders' response to the September 11 attacks had been "mixed, muddled and muttered."[149]

But what is missing, as I see it, is not a shortage of individuals expressing outrage—for there have been many, from many unexpected as well as welcome sources, including Ayatullah Ali Khameneì, Supreme Jurist-Ruler of Iran, and Sheikh Abdul-Rahman al-Sudais at the Grand Mosque in Mecca.[XXVIII]

No, there has not been a lack of individual responses, but apart from the press releases from established organizations like the League of Arab States and the Organization of the Islamic Conference, there have been no collective, substantive and authoritative responses from religious and political leaders that explicitly define, condemn and outlaw terrorism as well as set punishments for those who wage terrorism. This is because, I believe, many Muslims and their religious and spiritual institutions are deeply conflicted: they can rationalize and perhaps even support suicide bombing against civilians in Israel as a form of legitimate "resistance" against an occupying force,[XXIX] but, ironically and, I believe, morally inconsistently—they denounce the suicide attacks in the United States as being "against all human and Islamic norms," to quote from a statement released by Islamist leaders, *including* Sheikh Ahmad Yassin, founder of the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas), which claims responsibility for many of the suicide bombings in Israel that have indiscriminately murdered more than 250 people of all ages and

faiths in streets, strollers, buses, restaurants, dance halls and grocery stores.[150]

The relationship between religion and civil rights also poses troubling and difficult questions for many Muslim societies. Do Muslim leaders support maintaining secular constitutions or abandoning them in favor of Sharia? If so, what happens to sizable, non-Muslim minorities who are citizens of nations such as Nigeria? Are there enough favorable conditions, economic pressures and political will to enable Muslim nations to cooperate, much like members of the European Union, to create regional economic unions or even a Muslim common market among all Muslim realms? Is the unity of Muslims reflected only in their stance on Jerusalem, or is it confined to the plight of Palestinians, Kashmiris, Chechens, Bosnians and Kosovars? Can there be a Muslim World Bank, which shares the wealth of rich Muslim countries with poor ones in some form of international investment? These are terribly complex questions, with no easy answers.

Another immediate and pressing issue, of course, is the status of women. At a time when women are assuming greater roles around the world, in general, and in Muslim nations, in particular, there is a major, unavoidable debate about how to ensure the rights of women. Why do they have fewer rights than men—to travel, to drive, to marry, to divorce, to inherit, to work?[151] (In 2000, women in Khartoum were forbidden to work in many public places, and the next year Sudan's president refused to recognize a UN treaty on women's rights on the grounds that it violated family law in Sharia.)[152] Should women be silenced in public because traditionalists consider the female voice sexually provocative?[153] Should women

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[xxviii] Muslim leaders who condemned the September 11 attacks included the following:

Sheikh Muhammad Hussain Fadlallah, the spiritual leader of the Hezbollah, who was accused by the United States of ordering the 1983 truck bombing of the U.S. Marines barracks near the Beirut airport that killed 241 American servicemen, condemned the September 11 attacks as being incompatible with Sharia, Islamic law, for the perpetrators ("merely suicides," not martyrs) killed innocent civilians in a distant land where the victims could not be considered aggressive enemies. John F. Burns, "Bin Laden Stirs a Struggle Among Muslims About the Meaning of Jihad," *The New York Times*, January 20, 2002.

Sheikh Mohammed Sayyed al-Tantawi of Al-Azhar Mosque and University in Cairo said, "Attacking innocent people is not courageous; it is stupid and will be punished on the day of judgment." U.S. State Department, Network of Terrorism, http://usinfo.state.gov/products/pubs/terrornet/print/quotes.htm.

Ayatullah Ali Khameneì, Supreme Jurist-Ruler of Iran, said, "Killing of people, in any place and with any kind of weapons, including atomic bombs, long-range missiles, biological or chemical weapons, passenger or war planes, carried out by any organization, country or individuals, is condemned.... It makes no difference whether such massacres happen in Hiroshima, Nagasaki, Qana, Sabra, Shatila, Deir Yassin, Bosnia, Kosovo, Iraq or in New York and Washington." University of North Carolina web site, Statements Against Terror, www.unc.edu/~kurzman/terror.htm.

Iran's President Muhammad Khatami said, "The horrific attacks of September 11, 2001, in the United States were perpetrated by [a] cult of fanatics who had self-mutilated their ears and tongues, and could only communicate with perceived opponents through carnage and devastation." University of North Carolina web site, *op. cit.*

Chief Mufti of Saudi Arabia Abdulaziz bin Abdallah al-Ashaykh said, "A form of injustice that cannot be tolerated by Islam...they will invoke the anger of God Almighty and lead to harm and corruption on Earth." University of North Carolina web site, *op. cit.*

More than 40 Muslim scholars and Islamist leaders, including Mustafa Mashhur of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt; Sheikh Ahmad Yassin, founder, Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas) in Palestine; Rashid Ghannoushi, President of the Nahda Renaissance Movement in Tunisia; and Fazil Nour, President of PAS-Parti Islam SeMalaysia in Malaysia, issued a statement saying: "The undersigned, leaders of Islamic movements, are horrified by the events of Tuesday 11 September 2001, in the United States which resulted in massive killing, destruction and attack on innocent lives.... We condemn, in the strongest terms, the incidents, which are against all human and Islamic norms." University of North Carolina web site, *op. cit.*

The League of Arab States condemned the attacks, and its Secretary-General, Amre Moussa, said, "It is indeed tormenting that any country or people or city anywhere in the world be the scene of such disastrous attacks." University of North Carolina web site, *op. cit.*

Dr. Abdelouahed Belkeziz, Secretary-General of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, whose members represent 57 states, condemned the attack as "brutal acts that ran counter to all covenants, humanitarian values and divine religions foremost among which is Islam." University of North Carolina web site, *op. cit.*

be forced to marry their rapists to avoid "disgracing" their families, as they are in parts of Turkey?[154] Should they be denied the vote because Muslim traditionalists claim in some societies that they introduce an "irrational element" in politics—an outlandish claim that was similar to claims that deprived Swiss women of the vote until 1971—Switzerland was the last Western country to introduce women's suffrage.[155] And yet, as we know, women can not only vote, but have also been elected to the highest political offices in some other Muslim countries.

There are many issues surrounding traditional Islamic education systems. Should schools teach only religion? Or should they allow "Western" science to be taught as well? Why is it permissible to convert Christians to Islam while forbidding Muslims conversion to Christianity—and even subjecting them to the death penalty in some Muslim nations? In the Sudan, where Sharia is in force, anyone—Muslim or non-Muslim—who "commits apostasy" can receive the death penalty, and other religious offenses can be punished by amputation, stoning, flogging and crucifixion.[156] The question is, how can a religion modernize itself? Also, what is the place of minorities? How should Muslim societies deal with the issue of self-determination movements, such as the Kurds in Turkey? How will they protect the rights of Muslim minorities like the Shii in Saudi Arabia and Afghanistan and the Sunni in Iran—as well as the Christians, Jews and other religious minorities? Are minorities in Muslim countries to be tolerated only, or given equality? If so, do Muslim governments have the authority or the political will to stop school systems from using high school textbooks that teach contempt for non-Muslims?[xxx] Will they stop religious schools from fostering hostility toward Jews and Christians?[157] And how should we deal with similar instances where Christians are fomenting anti-Muslim and anti-Jewish hatred?

In addition, Muslims face a new challenge—that of immigrant communities in Europe, Latin America, the United States and Australia. How should Muslims reconcile their religious commitments with their political commitments to secular systems in their adopted countries? Writing about these issues, Bat Ye'or notes that "problems of integration and cohabitation…will arise between Western societies and Muslim immigrant populations, if the latter adhere to a religious legal code which the Western democratic societies reject."[158]

Modernization and globalization raise even more questions about the interplay of religion, culture, economy, education and technology. Is

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[xxix] In Palestine, there is real soul-searching as to the best means of resisting the Israeli occupation and whether or not suicide bombing is counterproductive as a kind of "resistance of last resort." Surveys indicate that about half the Palestinian population supports suicide bombing, and a much larger majority opposes arresting Islamists who organize the bombings. The tide may be turning, however slowly. In June, a group of 55 Palestinian politicians and scholars ran a newspaper advertisement for several days that called for reconsidering "military operations that target civilians in Israel." It asked for a halt in "pushing our youth to carry out these operations." The letter did not condemn the suicide missions but argued that they were not "producing any results except confirming the hatred…between the two peoples" and jeopardizing the "possibility that two peoples will live side by side in peace in two neighboring states." After a few days, more than 500 had signed on to the statement, some via the Internet; a rebuttal gained about 150 signatures. James Bennet, "Gingerly, Arabs Question Suicide Bombings," *The New York Times*, July 3, 2002, p. A1.

[xxx] Changing a tradition of intolerance can be difficult. In Saudi Arabia, the government has introduced plans to remove intolerant passages from textbooks. As a result, there has been "a lively debate in Saudi newspapers, with prominent conservative clergyman Sheik Saleh al-Fawzan, the author of many texts used in Saudi religious curricula, and Education Minister Mohammed Ahmed Rasheed trading insults," wrote James M. Dorsey. "Saudi Leader Seeks to Rein In Clergy," *Wall Street Journal*, March 14, 2002, p. A9.

it possible to modernize without "Westernizing" or "democratizing," as many Muslims wish? Can a society take Western technology without taking in some Western values? And besides, are "Western values" really Western? Or are they universal values similar to those that prevailed in the Golden Age of Islam? Those who believe that societies can modernize without Westernizing betray a certain naiveté in this age of the Internet and the information revolution. There is no way to have a "safe" modernization, as there can be no "immunization" against ideas. Modernization has always brought unintended consequences.

The Necessity of Knowledge

We live in historic times, but, by and large, Americans are ahistorical, concerned only with the present and often unappreciative of underlying forces that helped create this present—and that will likely influence our future. As George Will wrote recently, "When Americans say of something, 'That's history,' they mean it is irrelevant."[159] Unfortunately, it is not.

Today, we can regret but not be surprised that we as a society know so little about the world, including the actual divisions and affinities of the three Abrahamic faiths. In a 2000 survey, only 1 in 14 Americans claimed to really understand Islam's basic tenets; hopefully, this ratio has improved since then.[160] But a more recent survey found that one in four high school students was unable even to name the ocean that separates North America from Asia.[161]

It is clear, however, that we cannot be ignorant about the history of one-fifth of humanity. Nor can we ignore the common bonds among the three Abrahamic faiths. Sadly, we have seen an insistent bigotry in the United States. Paul Weyrich and William Lind write, in their booklet entitled *Why Islam Is a Threat to America and the West*, that "Islam is, quite simply, a religion of war." Lind goes further, saying that American Muslims "should be encouraged to leave. They are a fifth column in this country." Columnist Ann Coulter has written, "We should invade their countries, kill their leaders and convert them to Christianity."[162] These sentiments are not limited to commentators in the United States; some have emerged in Europe; Oriana Fallaci, for instance, the Italian journalist, has written a stridently anti-Muslim book, *Rage and Pride* (New York: Rizzoli International, 2002), which has become widely popular. In her book, Fallaci offers the opinion that the Qur'an "authorizes lies, calumny, hypocrisy."[163]

Worse still are the inflammatory and widely broadcast statements by some American religious leaders. In a speech broadcast by *NBC Nightly News*, Franklin Graham, the Christian evangelist's son, declared last November that Muslims pray to a "different God" and that Islam "is a very evil and wicked religion."[164] On CNN in February 2002, the Reverend Pat Robertson, founder of the Christian Coalition, said, "I think people ought to be aware of what we're dealing with." Speaking of Muslims, he said, "They want to coexist until they can control, dominate and then, if need be, destroy." He said the Prophet Muhammad preached hate and violence, adding at one point, "I think Osama bin Laden is probably a very dedicated follower of Muhammad. He's done exactly what Muhammad said to do, and we disagree with him obviously, and I'm sure many moderate Muslims do as well, but you can't say the religion is a religion of peace. It's not."[165]

Speaking at the annual Southern Baptist Convention in June 2002, the Reverend Jerry Vines went so far as to call the Prophet Muhammad a "demon-possessed pedophile," saying that his 12th wife had been a child bride. Vines is pastor of the First Baptist Church in Jacksonville, Florida, and is a past president of the convention, whose members comprise the largest (16 million) and arguably most politically active Protestant denomination in the country. Vines said that "Allah is not Jehovah" and stated that pluralism wrongly equates all religions. "Jehovah's not going to turn you into a terrorist that will try to bomb people and take the lives of thousands and thousands of people." Vines's statement elicited criticism from both Muslim and Jewish organizations.[166]

Not only are these ministers' statements off-base, they are incendiary and divisive as well. Nor do they reflect our much hailed American value of tolerance and religious freedom. After all, if we don't practice tolerance at home, we cannot with great righteousness demand that it be practiced elsewhere in the world. Appealing to religious agendas or religious divisions, moreover, has often led to dire consequences including the ravages of religious wars that devastated Europe and the waves of anti-Semitism that eventually resulted in the Holocaust. We would also do well to avoid using selected passages of ancient doctrines and texts—of Islam or any religion—to infer the views of a religion's adherents today. (As we know, the New Testament embraces slavery—"Slaves, obey your earthly masters with fear and trembling"—and God, in the Book of Joshua, commands Israelites to kill all the Canaanites and their children. In the 13th century, Pope Boniface VIII proclaimed that acceptance of his complete authority was "utterly necessary for the salvation of every living creature.")[167]

Clearly, more education and mutual understanding are necessary. And while this may seem like a worthy goal, it may not be easily achieved in the current charged atmosphere surrounding any discussion of Islam. A case in point is the recent controversy over the University of North Carolina (UNC) requiring incoming freshmen to read *Approaching the Qur'an: The Early Revelations*, by Michael Anthony Sells (Ashland, Ore.: White Cloud Press, 1999), and to write an essay on it. (Students could also write an essay on why they chose not to read it.) Fox News Network's Bill O'Reilly, who hosts a nationally televised talk show, compared the assignment to teaching Hitler's *Mein Kampf* in 1941 and questioned the purpose of making freshmen study "our enemy's religion." The university is now being sued for assigning the book amid claims that UNC "indoctrinates students with deceptive claims about the peaceful nature of Islam." In fact, the book makes no general claims at all about Islam.[168]

What is particularly disturbing about the debate over having students read *Approaching the Qur'an* is that it seems to raise doubts about the role of a university, which has always been to provide a forum for the free and open discussion of ideas and precepts. (Even the U.S. Supreme Court, in 1967, took note of the importance of unhindered dialogue in an educational setting, calling the classroom "the marketplace of ideas.")[169] In fact, it seems to raise doubts about the value of knowledge itself: after all, those who study orthodoxies and heterodoxies have always relied on the pursuit of knowledge to light their way. It would seem a self-evident notion that gaining knowledge means gaining increased under-

standing, not rushing down the garden path to indoctrination. Shielding ourselves from the holy book of 1.2 billion Muslims is not going to help us in any way begin to build a bridge from our society to others that we have been unacquainted with for far too long—or even to better acquaint ourselves with the growing Muslim community in our own country. History teaches us innumerable lessons about ideas and beliefs that at first seemed frighteningly "other" and impossibly different to different groups of people, but that with time became part of the complex tapestry of culture and practice that most of us have come to accept as an integral part of the world in which we live, even as we continue to hold to our own traditions and religions.

It is also clear that we are as ignorant of Muslim societies as they are of ours. Muslims should know about the evolution of our institutions, cultures and values. This is not an easy task, especially since literacy rates are generally low in Muslim nations, allowing news, facts and rumors to rapidly mix. How can we dispel prevailing memories of colonial rulers and, with them, notions of conspiracy and paranoia, actual and mythical? In the colonial past, *all* Muslim problems, social and political, were often attributed to the "all-powerful, all-knowing" British empire, its agencies and agents. Following World War II, America seems to have inherited that mythological mantle—namely, that since we are a superpower, everything that happens or does not happen in the world, especially as it affects Muslim societies, is the result of U.S. action, inaction or acquiescence.

In this connection, therefore, it is not surprising that al-Jazeera—the satellite news outlet that claims a global television audience of 35 million Arabic speakers—broadcast a serious debate about whether the United States had staged the September 11 disaster as part of a conspiracy against Islam and China.[170] Such speculation is not confined to the media. Even a highly influential school of Islamic law spreads conspiracy theories. The news service and web site of Darul Uloom Deoband—which is, as mentioned earlier, one of the largest institutions for teaching and propagating Islamic law—promoted similarly incredible rumors when it reported about the September 11 terrorist attacks: "While the possibilities can not be ruled out [of] the involvement of American citizens, in this act, on the other hand a strong opinion is that the said horrible deed was hatched by the Israeli Secret Service Mosad as informed by the various sources. As [many] as four thousand Jews [were] found absent in the World Trade Center on that fateful day, moreover the assets were collected by them before the attack. What[ever] is the reason behind that, it must be investigated throughout the country." [171]

Unfortunately, paranoia and wacky conspiracy theories are hardly an exclusive staple of Muslim societies. A best-selling book in France—which this spring broke the national record for first month's sales, previously held by Madonna's *Sex*—was Thierry Meyssan's *l'Effroyable Imposture (The Horrifying Fraud).* He dismisses official accounts of the September 11 terrorist attacks as "a loony fable" and theorizes that the U.S. government and military executed the attacks by remote control, as part of a strategy to invade Afghanistan and Iraq. "If the energy lobby was the main beneficiary of the war in Afghanistan, the biggest victor of Sept. 11 was the military-industrial lobby," Meyssan writes. "Its wildest dreams have now been fulfilled." Nearly 20 translations of the book, including an English one, are due out this fall.[172]

The Critical Need for Intranational and International Dialogues

Adhering to conspiracy theories and blaming external forces are easy ways to rationalize inaction and the status quo. Assuming responsibility and confronting problems head-on are always difficult for all rulers, regimes and political parties, including those in Muslim countries. To analyze our mutual misconceptions, our mutual stereotyping and our political and ideological differences, we must start new and honest dialogues as well as renew support for existing dialogues.[173] This is needed not to merely affirm our respective positions, but to explore and to challenge them. As Winston Churchill once joked about this deadly serious matter, "To jaw-jaw is always better than to war-war." He was right, of course.

In the United States—where we cherish religious tolerance, the concept of citizenship and respect for ethnic heritage—an internal dialogue is necessary for engaging and understanding various Muslim communities in our midst as well as those abroad. Such dialogue should help us avoid the errors of ignorance as well as those of categorizing an entire religion and all of its adherents as our current and permanent enemy because of the acts of an individual or individual group. Otherwise, as Esposito writes in *The Islamic Threat: Myth or Reality?*, "The demonization of a great religious tradition due to the perverted actions of a minority of dissident and distorted voices remains the real threat, a threat that not only impacts on relations between the Muslim world and the West but also upon growing Muslim populations in the West itself."[174]

In Muslim societies and within the American Muslim community, there needs to be a healthy and honest dialogue between modernists and traditionalists and between the educated, secular elite and their clerical counterparts. At a time when there is a resurgence of religion and religiosity around the world, states, societies and intellectuals can ignore the importance of religion only at their peril. For to dismiss the role of religion in our societies is to dismiss its role in promoting and sheltering particular ethical values as well as its role in politics and in social movements. Isolating religion, or subjecting it to benign neglect, or trying to manipulate or "purchase" the cooperation of its leaders are not real solutions, though. Indeed, we need a dialogue that promotes understanding to prevent religion from becoming the tool of specific political parties or that of secular states.

Unfortunately, many secular states have neglected the education of religious leaders, even as their education and awareness of different traditions and legacies have gained new importance. We also know that the use and abuse of religion is not just a Muslim issue, but an international one.

Global dialogues among peoples, cultures, religions and civilizations are greatly needed. They would reveal where people converge and where they diverge, and they would explore misunderstandings and genuine differences due to clashing cultural, religious and other values and interests. In that spirit, at a 1998 United Nations discussion of these issues, Iran's President Mohammad Khatami made some welcome comments.

Speaking directly about the need to improve our mutual knowledge of each other's civilizations and create a meaningful dialogue between them, Khatami subsequently elaborated his views in a CNN interview: "We intend to benefit from the achievements and

experiences of all civilizations, Western and non-Western, and to hold a dialogue with them. The closer the pillars and essences of these two civilizations [American and Islamic] are, the easier the dialogue would become.... Islam is a religion which calls all humanity, irrespective of religion or belief, to rationality and logic...relations among nations must be based on logic and mutual respect." [175]

Since every religion asserts its own uniqueness, claims of absolute truth and even superiority, the challenge before us all—Muslims and non-Muslims, in America and around the world—is one of understanding and accommodation: How can each group maintain and develop its own set of values and at the same time coexist and interact with other value systems, religions and cultures—both within our own secular democracy and internationally? One hopes that out of dialogue will come understanding and respect, and out of respect will come tolerance.

In 1999, Pope John Paul II reached out to President Khatami and discussed ways to promote a true dialogue between Christians and Muslims. The Pope called their meeting "important and promising," and Iran's President came out of the meeting saying that all religions are "not quintessentially different." [176]

We also heard many encouraging words about tolerance in 2000, when more than 1,000 religious leaders from 110 countries gathered at the United Nations in New York for the Millennium World Peace Summit of Religious and Spiritual Leaders. Some excerpts from their written statements:

> His Excellency Dr. Mustafa Ceric, Raisu-I-Ulama of Bosnia-Herzegovina: "The threat is not in Islam but in our spiritual disability to meet universal moral demands; evil is not in the West but in our cultural insecurity. It is time that Islam be seen as a spiritual blessing in the West, and the West be seen as a call for an intellectual awakening in the Muslim East."
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> His All Holiness Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew, Archbishop of Constantinople, New Rome, and Ecumenical Patriarch: "Whenever human beings fail to recognize the value of diversity, they deeply diminish the glory of God's creation."
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> Honorable Ela Gandhi, granddaughter of Mahatma Gandhi and a member of Congress in South Africa: "The different faiths are but different paths to the same end.... The sooner we realize this important message, the sooner we will be able to save mankind from a painful and horrendous doom—a doom of war and of natural disasters as a result of the excessive use of armaments of all types and the resultant destruction of nature."
>
> The Reverend Billy Graham: "Those of us who are Christians affirm that all humans are created in the image of God, and God's love extends equally to every person on earth, regardless of race, tribe or ethnic origin.... Every act of discrimination and racism, therefore, is wrong, and is a sin in the eyes of God."
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> His Holiness Tenzin Gyatso, XIV Dalai Lama: "Within the context of this new interdependence, self-interest clearly lies in considering the interests of others. We must develop a greater sense of universal responsibility. Each of us must learn to work not just for our own self, family, or nation, but also for the benefit of all humankind."

Chief Rabbi Israel Meir Lau, Chief Rabbi of Israel: "Judaism not only educates towards tolerance and understanding between observant and non-observant Jews, but also believes in tolerance between Jews and other religions and peoples, because all of us, all of humanity, were created in one image, the image of the Creator of the Universe. We all have one Father, one God who created us."

His Grace Reverend Njongonkulu Ndungane, Archbishop of Cape Town: "In order to live with diversity and to enjoy its riches, there is much healing to be done and, foremost, the healing of fears that lurk in the deepest recesses of our minds and hearts. We need to admit these fears in order to achieve unity in diversity and diversity in unity and to appreciate one another's giftedness. But sometimes it is our very giftedness that becomes a threat to others, and only our brokenness that unites us.... The only way to overcome fear is through a love that really wants the best for others. To look at those with different backgrounds and see them as God sees them.... There is an old saying that if you want peace, work for justice. I believe that our greatest challenge as the world's religious leaders is to consistently remind our political and business counterparts that peace is not the absence of war or conflict. It is the presence of those conditions in society that ensure basics, such as food, shelter, clothing, access to health care, clean water and education. Peace is about giving facility and nurturing a spirit of love."[xxxi]

While many of the religious leaders at the peace summit addressed the need for religious tolerance, it is interesting to note that many limited their remarks to racial and ethnic intolerance. We assume that was simply an oversight, because religious tolerance is often a critical component of racial and ethnic tolerance.

In addition, while we see efforts to promote religious tolerance, some efforts fall short of being inclusive of all religious ideas or modern, secular societies. Leaders of the Russian Orthodox Church and Islamic leaders, for example, have been working to improve relations by stressing their common traditions and values and experiences under Soviet oppression. A joint statement, released by Orthodox and Muslim leaders in the Republic of Tatarstan, captures this feeling: "At the close of the 20th century, in which horrible wars (including religious ones) and persecutions for the faith have ceased, when often in the same cell were tortured the mullah and the Orthodox priest—we should draw from this the lesson of this terrible century, and enter

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[xxxi] Other memorable comments by the religious leaders include the following:

Sri Daya Mata, President and Sangmata, Self Realization Fellowship: "God is not the least bit interested in where we were born, which religion we follow, or what color our skin is. But He does care about how we behave."

Reverend Bishop Vashti M. McKenzie, African Methodist Episcopal Church: "There are many things that divide us: different doctrines, different dogmas, different tenets, different belief systems. But if we search hard, I believe we will also find some common grounds in our differentness without violating the uniqueness of our belief systems. Now, in the 21st century, we can begin to uncover the things that bring us together rather than dwell on the things that tear us apart."

Venerable Sheng-Yen, Buddhist leader: "The best way to protect ourselves is to transform our enemies into friends. And this is at the heart of Buddhist teaching."

His Excellency Dr. L. M. Singhvi, Jain scholar: "Tolerance is a state of mind, a set of norms and a pattern of behavior. It is another name for human understanding.... Tolerance is, in the ultimate analysis, the only way to unshackle humanity from egocentric pride and prejudice, from hatred and violence, from racial discrimination and religious fanaticism."

Sacred Rights: Faith Leaders on Tolerance and Respect (New York: Millwood Publishing, 2001).

into the 21st century with the clear understanding that peace on our planet is greater than thoughtless airings of the question, 'Which faith is better.'" This ecumenism, however, seems to be very limited.

One of the views shared by Muslim and Orthodox traditionalists is antagonism toward conversion, carried out by proselytizing missionaries of any faith. As Talgat Tadzhuddin, Chief Mufti of European Russia, has described the "problem": "They [missionaries] catch the souls of the young, the weak, tearing them away from their families, from a sense of love for their Fatherland, from their communities…the position of the Central Spiritual Administration of the Muslims of Russia…is in complete agreement…with the position of the Russian Orthodox Church."

Another shared view, unfortunately, is their opposition to secular and modern societies. Speaking of Muslim-Orthodox cooperation, Patriarch Alekseii II, Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia, said, "Together, we must respond to such alarming phenomena as secularization, moral crisis of society, attempts to build up a monopolar world, and to use globalization for economic, cultural, religious and information dictatorship." [177]

It is worth noting that one of the most courageous steps toward religious tolerance was taken in 1965, when, for the first time, the Vatican recognized Muslims as being part of "God's salvation plan." Apart from the thousand-year delay, the Second Vatican Council's announcement, known as *Nostra Aetate*, was most welcome.

Although many quarrels and hostilities have arisen between Christians and Muslims in the course of history, the council "urges all to forget the past and strive sincerely for mutual understanding.… All peoples of the Earth constitute a sole social community."

This issue was further elaborated in the third clause of the declaration:

"The Church looks with esteem at the Muslims who adore the only God, living and existing, merciful and omnipotent, Creator of the Heavens and the Earth, who has spoken to man. They seek to submit themselves with all their heart to God's decrees, even hidden, as did even Abraham submit himself, to whom the Islamic faith gladly refers. Although they do not recognise Jesus as God, they nevertheless venerate him as a prophet; they honour his Virgin Mother, Mary, and sometimes they even invoke her with devotion. What is more, they wait for the day of judgement when God will reward all men resurrected. Thus, they too hold in esteem moral life and pay homage to God above all with prayer, charity, and fasting."

At the time, these sentiments received a favorable response. In 1967, for example, Ahmad Omar Haslim, rector of Al-Azhar University, appealed to Muslims and Westerners to join together in seeking the common good, rather than continuing to avoid each other as a strategy to prevent conflict. "After all the suffering and indescribable affliction that humanity has gone through," he said, "we hope that humanity will be pervaded with a feeling of peace in which all religions, and principally Islam, will contribute." [178]

A similarly optimistic conclusion was reached by Arnold Toynbee. In discussing the rise and fall of civilizations, he did not try to reduce the complexities to one or two factors, but rather saw historic change as an organic process involving all the variables of life. Yet he predicted that this natural process would ulti-

mately bring about the convergence of all civilizations. "In order to save mankind we have to learn to live together in concord in spite of traditional differences of religion, class, race and civilisation. We must learn to recognise and understand the different cultural configurations in which our common human nature has expressed itself." This is indeed a strong challenge, but as he said, "A strong challenge often provokes a highly creative response." [179]

The time has come for the world to recognize that Jews, Christians and Muslims are the children of Abraham—and, according to the Qur'an, that our different religious communities are part of God's plan. The Qur'an: "For every one of you [Jews, Christians, Muslims], We have appointed a path and a way. If God had willed, He would have made you but one community; but that [He has not done in order that] He may try you in what has come to you. So compete with one another in good works." [180]

Five years ago, when I came to Carnegie Corporation, we reviewed the foundation's priorities and future course of action. One of the topics that we highlighted was Islam's emergence as a major religion in America and the imperative need for us to understand its structure, history and evolution. Two Carnegie conferences, held prior to September 11 and attended by scholars and some Muslim American leaders as well, focused on the complex nature of Islam and the enormous diversity within the American Muslim community. Also discussed were the inherent conflicts that Muslim immigrants in particular must resolve to become an integral part of our social fabric. American Muslims, we know, represent a cross section of the world's population, with all of its ethnic, cultural, linguistic and socioeconomic patterns, not to mention the many differences between native-born, newly converted and immigrant Muslims.

Two important themes emerged from the conferences: first, the need to promote public understanding about the rich legacy and diversity of Islam and, second, the need to ease the participation and integration of Muslim citizens, particularly recent immigrants, into our society and democracy. It was one of the Founding Fathers of our democracy, James Madison, who emphasized that religious pluralism is not a threat to the stability of the United States, but, rather, a positive force in America. He said the rights of individuals and those in the minority are better protected in a diverse society, since even those in the ruling majority, by necessity, must represent a combination of interests and perspectives. In a free society, the security of civil rights must be the same as that for religious rights.

In this connection, Carnegie Corporation has begun to explore ways to improve the American understanding of Islam as a religion, the characteristics of Muslim societies in general and that of American Muslims in particular. We are examining ways to promote intergroup and interfaith understanding within our pluralistic democracy. In addition, we are seeking to identify the means to facilitate multilateral dialogues between Western and Muslim intellectuals, professionals and clerics as well as between Muslim secular intellectuals and theologians. These are ambitious objectives that I hope Carnegie Corporation will help organize the means to achieve, in cooperation with our United States and European sister institutions, and, whenever possible, involving our counterparts in Africa, the Middle East, South Asia and Southeast Asia.

These dialogues and conferences will produce a variety of critical, scholarly and yet accessible texts on many of the issues raised in this report. It is my belief that such studies will establish a common vocabulary and terms of reference for Muslims and non-Muslims alike. This, in turn, one hopes, will provide a bridge between American Muslims and Muslim immigrants as well as Muslims in their countries of origin. Dialogues and national conversations could help inform the American understanding of the one-fifth of humanity that follows the precepts of Islam. In addition, I am convinced that the American Muslim community can help Muslim societies around the world to better understand America's pluralistic democracy, its institutions and aspirations.

The 20th century has been the age of ideology and total war. We have witnessed the ravages of two world wars, racism, chauvinism and xenophobia; we have seen ideologues on the left and the right who have defended and rationalized political systems intended to deliver "perfect societies" and "perfect nation-states." In the process, they colonized, categorized and dehumanized entire peoples, nations and races. They gave us oppression, concentration camps, ethnic cleansing, genocide and, of course, the unspeakable horror of the Holocaust.

The new century, hopefully chastened by the bloody record of the past hundred years, will resist all ideologies—old, new or renewed —that attempt to use religion to sow the seeds of division, hatred and violence, be it in the form of Islamaphobia, anti-Semitism, anti-Christianity, anti-Catholicism, anti-Protestantism, anti-Hinduism or anti-Buddhism, to name but a few. The new century should reject attempts to use religion as a tool of secular ideologies or use it to justify terrorism, mass murder or assassination, often in the name of a just and merciful God. Racism, chauvinism and xenophobia should not be given respectable shelter by any religion. Societies should reject the degradation of their religions. Religious intolerance is especially repugnant in the United States, which was founded on religious tolerance. It is also deeply and particularly tragic when intolerance pits Muslims, Jews and Christians against one another—members of the three Abrahamic faiths, which have so much in common, including the belief that God created human beings in His own image.

The message of Saadi of Shiraz, the 13th-century Persian poet, is one that both Muslims and non-Muslims should take to heart. As he reminds us:

The children of Adam are limbs of one another
And in their creation come from one substance
When the world gives pain to one another
The other members find no rest.

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Change and Continuity: Overview of a Challenging Year

By Neil R. Grabois, vice president and director for strategic planning and program coordination

Fiscal year 2001 tested both Carnegie Corporation's mission and the nation's mettle. The chaotic presidential election, followed by the collapse of the economic boom and September 11 made absurd any notion of U.S. disengagement from global entanglements. Though stunned by those events, the nation moved forward—patiently, proudly and charitably—demonstrating the resiliency and strength of our democracy. Corporation staff were deeply shaken, both as citizens and as professionals in philanthropy. It was a humbling year, showing the colossal challenge of our mission, and yet we remain even more certain of the relevance and urgency of the work done by our grantees.

But, just as September 11 changed the world, it will affect our work in coming years. There are bound to be short-term adjustments even as we rededicate ourselves to our long-term goals. Vartan Gregorian, the Corporation's president, has said, "Much has changed since September 11, but much remains the same. We want to react, but not over-react, all the while staying on course with our mission." In an historical parallel, Walter A. Jessup, the Corporation's president during much of World War II, made a similar comment. In the 1942 annual report, he wrote, "The present world-wide conflict is affecting all institutions to their depths." Yet because the Corporation was founded on a bedrock of timeless values and goals, Jessup asserted it could "play a useful role within the terms of established policies."

We strongly believe that Jessup's words remain true today as we face new challenges at home and abroad. In all our work, we draw strength and guidance from the mandate given to the Corporation by its founder, Andrew Carnegie, who created Carnegie Corporation "to promote the advancement and diffusion of knowledge and understanding," a rich, complex and essential mission that has invigorated generations of trustees, staff and grant recipients. Carnegie's legacy continues to guide and inspire our work in four major program areas, Education, International Development, International Peace and Security and Strengthening U.S. Democracy, as well as the Corporation's two-year-old Carnegie Scholars program.

Education

Andrew Carnegie saw ignorance at the root of all evil and all wars, and concluded that the only hope for "universal civilization" and international peace was the creation and diffusion of knowledge and understanding, largely through education. Under President Gregorian, the Corporation has refocused its attention on formal schooling, from preschool through the undergraduate experience, with a special emphasis on improving literacy and numeracy throughout the education system. As new directions and ideas are phased into the program, the Corporation is building on earlier education strategies. After its long and determined efforts to increase public awareness of the emotional and intellectual needs of young children, for example, the Education Division is now promoting preschool reforms and helping policymakers with the challenge of establishing universal, high-quality preschool education. In a similar way, the foundation's continuing and expanding work in K-12 school reform is now being supplemented by a major effort to improve the training of teachers in the nation's schools of education. Another, broader effort to improve higher education is a new emphasis on strengthening liberal arts education, which, by its very nature, helps open minds to perspectives of other cultures and gives students the analytical skills needed to participate fully in our democratic society.

With the nation's spotlight focused on the need, in the next decade, for about 2.5 million new teachers created by the retirement of baby-boom-era teachers and the growth of the school-age population, the Corporation made many grants this year to improve the quality of America's teachers, not just their quantity. Some of the work supported this year seeks to quantify the importance of good teaching; inform civic and school reform leaders about the critical need to improve teaching in poor districts; increase public awareness about the causal link between good teaching and good schools; and develop model training and support systems for new teachers. The Exploratorium, a San Francisco-based science museum, for example, received support for evaluating, refining and promoting its model program for helping new science teachers get a successful start in their careers. The program provides teachers with support groups,

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mentors, coaching from veteran science teachers, a four-week summer institute and Saturday workshops on such topics as lesson plans and teaching diverse groups of students. After the model is completed, it will be shared nationally in workshops and through the distribution of publications.

Also this year, the groundwork was laid for the division's ambitious initiative called *Teachers for a New Era*, which will invest up to $30 million in creating model schools of education in at least six universities. Participation in the program is by invitation, and the first two universities will be selected in 2002 with the help of a national advisory panel. The three organizing principles of the initiative are that teacher education must be informed by research in how children learn; it should include significant study with the university's arts and sciences faculty; and it must provide extensive clinical training in the practice of teaching, with a program of professional development specifically tailored to the needs of new teachers.

On the school reform front, the Education Division moved another major initiative from the planning phase closer to the implementation stage: announced in 2000 and called *Schools for a New Society*, the initiative tackles the entrenched problems faced by the nation's general, or comprehensive, high schools in urban areas. Years of piecemeal improvement efforts on a school-by-school basis have typically produced poor results, largely because of unaddressed systemic problems.

Schools for a New Society aims to reinvigorate efforts to improve high schools around the country with systemic, district-wide reforms that are based on four strategic assumptions. First, that schools and community representatives—including students, teachers, school officials and leaders in higher education, politics, unions, business and civic organizations—must jointly redesign outmoded comprehensive high schools. Second, that obsolete factory-model high schools must be transformed into learning communities that help all children reach high standards; one approach is to create small schools—or schools within schools—that help foster a caring culture of learning. Third, that the challenges presented by high schools are systemic and require district-wide leadership and reform. And, finally, that schools cannot succeed alone; to raise expectations for students and provide the means for them to succeed, school districts must raise community expectations for students and recruit community partners who will share public and private resources in a coordinated effort to help all young people develop into healthy, well-educated, productive citizens.

Obsolete, factory-model high schools must be transformed into learning communities that help all children reach high standards.

In August 2001, building on plans developed with support from the Corporation, ten district-community partnerships submitted proposals to the Corporation with action plans for district-wide reform. The process was aided by funding allocated in fiscal 2001 to enable the Academy for Educational Development to provide management and technical assistance services to the initiative and to enable the Corporation to engage a team of experts to

assist in developing evaluation tools and in assessing the quality of the school reform designs along with the effectiveness of the planning carried out by each of the sites. The district-community partnerships selected to participate in *Schools for a New Society* were to be announced in October 2001.

This year, the Corporation also focused on school reform efforts in New York City. Working through an innovative partnership with the New York City Board of Education and the United Federation of Teachers, the Corporation, along with the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation and the Open Society Institute, created the *New Century High Schools Consortium for New York City* to support the redesign of ten large, low-performing comprehensive high schools in New York City as well as the creation of small schools in neighborhoods of highest need. Each foundation provided $10 million towards the project (for a total of $30 million), which is being administered by New Visions for Public Schools, an education reform organization with experience in small school development and a record of partnership with the New York City school system.

International Development

The Corporation's International Development program continued to emphasize education in fiscal year 2001, supporting projects to strengthen higher education systems—including women's increased access to higher education—and public libraries in selected sub-Saharan African countries. The approach is premised on the notion that learning, and the contribution to one's country that learning engenders, remains a critical element in a nation's strategies for success.

Andrew Carnegie, the Johnny Appleseed of public libraries and education reforms, took an early interest in Africa. He provided construction funds for four libraries in South Africa before 1911, when he created the Corporation to continue his work. During the next 50 years, until the library program was suspended in 1961, the Corporation provided $894,000 to Commonwealth countries for library-related projects. This effort provided a strong impetus for the spread of public libraries in many countries. Although the libraries tended to serve urban populations, rural populations were also included through "book box services" that brought boxes of books by whatever conveyance was available—wagons, cars, even camels—to people living outside the cities. Library scholars still consider the Corporation's support of libraries and book services to non-Europeans in South Africa and other African countries to be among the Corporation's major philanthropic contributions. But over recent decades, progress in expanding libraries has been very slow in many countries and nearly non-existent in South Africa, where the vast majority of blacks were denied any library services under apartheid. Today, it is the lack of resources, not public policy, that denies or severely limits library service to South Africans, including eight million of its twelve million students.

The Corporation's investments in African education, beginning with a 1926 grant for creating a technical school in Kenya, exceeded $1.5 million by 1940, when the war intervened. When the Corporation resumed its education work in Africa, its investments emphasized countries' need to develop public school systems and, between 1953 and 1973 alone, more than $10 million in grants were made, mostly outside of South Africa. A major focus was on creating institutes of education at

numerous universities and in many countries. Their purpose, which continues to this day in many universities, is to train educators to develop curriculum, manage schools and conduct research. The institutes were complemented by another multi-decade initiative in which the Corporation provided traveling fellowships to administrators and scholars to research and confer with their colleagues in other nations.

In 2000, the Corporation returned more explicitly to the important work of strengthening African libraries and education. That year, the Corporation supported the preparation or updating of development plans for universities and women's educational opportunity projects in Uganda and Tanzania; for library systems in Kenya and Botswana; and for all three areas—universities, women's opportunity projects and libraries—in South Africa, Ghana and Nigeria. These countries were selected on the basis of their political stability and leaders' commitment to democracy as well as other criteria for judging each country's institutional ability to make major reforms. (Corporation bylaws also limit grants to nations that were members of the British Commonwealth in 1948.)

In fiscal 2001, after a year of analysis and planning, the Corporation made 49 grants to improve libraries, universities and women's educational opportunities. Grant recipients included the University of Dar es Salaam in Tanzania and Makerere University in Uganda, both of which received support for carrying out plans to overhaul their institutions. At Dar es Salaam, reforms include expanding professional development for teachers and building the technological infrastructure that a modern university needs. At Makerere—which has a Corporation-supported institute of education—improvements include scholarships to encourage faculty to obtain their doctorates, creation of a program to improve women's access to college and success in their studies, and the creation of distance-learning programs for undergraduate students who plan to become teachers.

Both universities also received support to create scholarships for women as a way to address the often overwhelming barriers to higher education that they experience. Under the $2 million program, several hundred undergraduate women over three years will receive full scholarships for their university studies. The two universities are already recognized leaders in advancing women's education: more than a quarter of students at Dar es Salaam are women and more than one-third of Makerere's students are women. Both schools also have departments or programs in gender studies.

To help strengthen these and other institutions of higher education in Africa, the Corporation anticipates providing sustained support to the initiative over the next nine years, with modifications as needed. These grants to universities are part of the Corporation's participation in a $100-million investment in African universities over five years by a partnership of four foundations—Ford, MacArthur, Rockefeller and Carnegie. The partners work collectively on research and communications, but set their own grant-making priorities.

In some countries, such as South Africa, the Corporation provided support to both university and library systems. The Corporation's library initiative, called *Gateways to Information: African Public Libraries*, has four objectives: to foster development of literacy programs; strengthen linkages between education and

library systems; promote continuing education and adult learning; and support library programs that promote use of the Internet. *Gateways to Information* began this year with $3.8 million in grants to six library systems in South Africa. They were chosen because they have the potential to become exemplary centers of learning and communications and, thus, may become models for improving other nations' library systems.

Expanding library service, modernizing it, and improving its quality are major themes of the initiative. At Nelson Mandela Metropolitan Municipal Library Services, for example, plans call for enhancing staff training, increasing the number of reading programs for children and expanding services to rural areas. At Mpumalanga Provincial Library and Information Services, the Corporation is supporting an expansion of Internet access and more bookmobiles. After the initiative is rolled out and evaluated in South Africa, the Corporation will consider expanding it to other African countries.

International Peace and Security

Always thinking about the unthinkable in hopes of preventing it, staff in the International Peace and Security program (IPS) seek to identify the gravest threats to global and U.S. security and, within budget limitations, support efforts to reduce or eliminate the threats. Overall, the Corporation's program focuses on three areas: the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, including the spread and availability of biological, chemical and nuclear weapons; the integration into the West of the states of the former Soviet Union and the attendant strengthening in those countries of democratic governments and of market economies; and, finally, emerging conflicts over state sovereignty and the development of policies to prevent the escalation of these conflicts into violence. Such conflicts typically arise from border disputes, separatist demands driven by ethnic rivalries or religious differences and fights over water and other scarce resources.

Illustrative of these themes, the Corporation gave support to the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, D.C., and the College of William and Mary for their joint research on the incentives and disincentives for nations in acquiring nuclear weapons. Researchers are exploring why Pakistan, India and other nations are developing nuclear arsenals while South Korea, Taiwan and Argentina are not. They will also suggest public policies that might deter proliferation.

The situation in Afghanistan demonstrated the value of maintaining good relations with Russia, which pledged full cooperation with the U.S. anti-terrorism campaign.

The situation in Afghanistan demonstrated the value of maintaining good relations with Russia, which pledged its full cooperation with the U.S. anti-terrorism campaign. Russia's critical support in this region came at a time of waning U.S. interest in Russia as a partner in geopolitics. Motivated by concern about the weakening U.S.-Russia relationship—and the weakening health of post-Soviet Union states—the Corporation developed a project

Contested borders, globalization and demands by different groups for greater self-governance may well be a key determinant of peace in the century ahead.

to help inform policymaking in both countries. The project, called the *Russia Initiative*, convened four study groups of more than 100 educators, military leaders, journalists, political scientists, business leaders and historians—both American and Russian. Over an 18-month period, the participants produced a multidisciplinary analysis of Russia's predicaments, including political, economic, social and national security challenges and their cumulative implications. The scholars' conclusion, essentially, was that helping Russia help itself was in the best interests of the United States and of world peace.

The report—along with a companion documentary video, entitled *Russia: Facing the Future*—was released in May 2001 at the Library of Congress to a large Capitol Hill audience. With support from the Dissemination Fund administered by the Public Affairs Department, presentations were subsequently made at the Council of Foreign Affairs and chapters of the World Affairs Council in seven cities. To make the most of the project's educational value, the book and video are being offered to college professors and high school teachers; a free teaching guide is also available. With renewed Corporation support this year, the research initiative will continue, deepening public understanding of Russia's economic and political reforms.

A separate initiative, called *Higher Education in the former Soviet Union*, also made significant headway. First announced in 2000, the initiative is helping restore Russia's intelligentsia, the country's engine of reform, and nurture a new generation of scholars and leaders in the region. Last year, the Corporation worked collaboratively with the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation and the Russian Government in establishing three Centers for Advanced Study and Education (CASEs) at major universities in the region. Designed to become centers of excellence in the social sciences and humanities, the centers offer research fellowships, travel grants and access to Western universities and libraries. This year, 44 universities submitted proposals for opening more CASEs, and five were selected by a governing board, which includes representatives of the principal sponsors and organizers and academic advisors from Russia and other nations. The board also approved the first group of 90 fellowships for research.

Since 1999, IPS has also focused on the new and emerging dangers and challenges posed by international self-determination issues, epitomized by the clash between the desire of groups within states to govern themselves and the contending interest of states to maintain control over their borders and the people within them. As world events unfold, this area of the Corporation's work continues to take on added significance. Projects supported in the past year have examined issues relating to contested borders, trends towards globalization and demands by different ethnic and political groups for greater self-governance. How all these forces play out may well be a key determinant of international peace and security in the century ahead.

Strengthening U.S. Democracy

It was a year in which Americans learned more than they ever wanted to know about hanging chads or dimpled ones, and it was a year that saw the democracy program rapidly evolve to meet new challenges. The program even changed its name—from Special Projects to Strengthening U.S. Democracy—and sharpened its focus on two goals: removing barriers to greater civic participation and strengthening organizations working in the nonprofit sector.

It was a year in which Americans learned more than they ever wanted to know about hanging chads or dimpled ones.

Shortly after the voting debacle in the presidential election, the program supported a comprehensive analysis of the nation's voting system by experts at the California Institute of Technology and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. An influential report by the schools' Voting Technology Project provided a detailed set of recommendations to policymakers in July. The report helped guide government decisions in a number of states, including Florida and California, as well as in many counties, and helped guide advisory organizations; the National Commission on Election Reform, for example, supported the researchers' call for developing better national standards for polling places.

In their report, the project's researchers suggested that making just two reforms—installing voting machines that optically scan paper ballots at the precinct and making voter registration data available at polling places—would reduce by 50 percent the number of lost votes, which were estimated to be between four and six million nationwide in the 2000 presidential election. These votes were lost due to problems with faulty ballots, equipment, registration or procedures in the polling site. Over the next four years, members of the project will continue to advise government officials, draft a proposal for national standards and develop new technology to provide more security, accuracy and ease of use.

Increasingly, the democracy program supports a wide range of efforts to reduce or remove structural and attitudinal barriers that discourage citizens from taking an active role in political and civic activities. In the interest of addressing systemic problems, the program supports projects that address campaign finance and other reforms at the state level, voter registration regulations and modernizing the way Americans cast their votes.

Americans' highly negative attitude toward politics is also a major barrier to greater civic participation. Public distrust and cynicism have led to political apathy, thus depriving our democratic system of the kind of citizen activism that promotes reform. The program has begun to focus on youth and immigrants, who are the most disengaged from political activities and whose participation is critical to the future health of our democracy. In considering issues related to integrating immigrants into the ranks of active citizens, the program is also interested in challenges and opportunities presented by the growing religious diversity in the nation; Islam is a natural focus as it has

Andrew Carnegie understood that the ways in which "the advancement and diffusion of knowledge" could best be accomplished would change with changing times.

become one of the nation's fastest growing religions; it is as well, a current source of public confusion and concern.

The Corporation has long supported the growth and development of the nonprofit sector, and the program on Strengthening U.S. Democracy is taking that work a step further. Grants have been made to support efforts aimed at increasing nonprofits' capacity to fulfill their missions by strengthening such areas as strategic planning and management, fundraising, marketing and communications. Initially, the Corporation will collaborate with organizations that are developing best practices that can be widely replicated.

Carnegie Scholars

After a three-decade break, the Corporation has resumed its support of individual scholars whose work extends and deepens understanding of issues associated with current program priorities. A 1940s description of the Corporation's investment in individual scholarship could have been written today—with one important addition: support "goes to responsible men [and women] who have ideas that are inspirational, basic and vital."

In its second full year, the Carnegie Scholars program supported research that holds the promise of advancing knowledge, informing the public and shaping public policy in areas of interest to the Corporation and its work. In fiscal 2001, the Corporation invited 112 university presidents, provosts, deans and experts at nonprofit research institutions to nominate Carnegie Scholars. Under the program, each scholar receives up to $100,000 to support research over a one- or two-year period. The nominators recommended 87 scholars, who, in turn, submitted research proposals. After review by Corporation staff, 40 finalists were selected. In the final round, the staff and a panel of academic advisors selected 16 scholars and recommended them to the president, who approved their choices.

Conclusion

In his vast and comprehensive biography of Andrew Carnegie, Joseph Frazier Wall explains that in creating the Corporation, Carnegie understood that the ways in which "the advancement and diffusion of knowledge" could best be accomplished would change with changing times. In designing how the "business of benevolence," would be carried out in the future, he therefore had the foresight to provide the staff and trustees who would come after him with the liberty to carry out the foundation's work "…[by such agencies and] means as shall from time to time be found appropriate...." In a year that saw tremendous challenges to our civic life, to international peace, to education and to developing nations seeking to find their place in the global community, we are grateful that our founder not only entrusted us with the legacy of his philanthropy but also trusted us to carry out his vision of grantmaking as a living, responsive and ever-changing process that seeks always to do "real and permanent good in this world."

Early Childhood Education and Care

Finance Project, *Washington, DC*

Publications and technical assistance materials for policymakers to promote young children's school readiness. Eighteen months, $311,400.

The Corporation's *Starting Points State and Community Partnership for Young Children*, a grants initiative supporting the development of programs and policies in eleven cities and states that promote young children's school readiness, was established in 1996 to implement the reforms called for in the 1994 report, *Starting Points*. The Finance Project, an independent research and policy analysis organization, has been providing technical assistance to the grantees and managing the operations of the initiative since 1998. In addition to generating a series of issue briefs and action guides on the innovations being developed by the grantees, the project is providing practical assistance to other states and community leaders who wish to finance, manage and sustain a high quality, universally available early childhood education system.

Cheryl D. Hayes, Executive Director. www.financeproject.org

Jumpstart for Young Children Inc., *Boston, MA*

Development of training and curriculum materials for and evaluation of a program that trains college students to work with disadvantaged preschool children. Three years, $600,000.

Jumpstart, founded in 1993, seeks to foster school success for disadvantaged children through a program that recruits and trains federal work-study college students to work with children in Head Start and other early childhood programs. During the school year, each college student partners with an individual child for two-hour sessions twice a week to help build literacy and social skills. In the summer months, small teams of students work with preschoolers, attend trainings and develop curriculum with mentor teachers. Over the next five years, Jumpstart is expanding its program, from working with 1,500 young children annually in eleven sites to working with more than 15,000 young children a year in as many as fifty cities across the nation. Corporation funds will support two key elements of the expansion initiative: training and curriculum development, and an external evaluation.

Aaron Lieberman, President and Chief Executive Officer. www.jstart.org

National Governors' Association Center for Best Practices, *Washington, DC*

Assistance to states in implementing policies that promote young children's healthy development and school readiness. Eighteen months, $299,900.

Starting Points and *Years of Promise*, the Corporation's major reports on early childhood development, called for the reform of programs and policies concerned with early childhood education, children's health and parenting supports. To direct national attention to these issues, the National Governors' Association convened a bipartisan leadership group of governors to prepare and disseminate best practice guides, financial analyses and policy briefs highlighting innovations. In addition, the association is developing a technical assistance program to help state policymakers design, evaluate and sustain promising early childhood initiatives. Planning materials and an evaluation manual to provide step-by-step guidance to the growing number of states mounting reforms to ensure children's school readiness are also being produced.

Helene Stebbins, Program Director. www.nga.org

National Head Start Association, *Alexandria, VA*

Early literacy teacher training project utilizing distance learning technology. Two years, $500,000.

The National Head Start Association, a membership organization representing preschool teachers of disadvantaged children, has developed a model training and distance learning initiative to promote young children's literacy skills. The model, which is being pilot tested in four states, offers literacy training to Head Start, preschool and childcare teachers that may be used to earn academic credit. The training features satellite technology, partnerships with local colleges and universities and on-site assistance. Several of the nation's preeminent literacy experts are helping to develop the training curriculum. The Council for Early Childhood Professional Recognition, a key credentialing entity, and Resources and Instruction for Staff Excellence, a distance learning and training organization, are also collaborators.

Libby Doggett, Project Manager, HeadsUp! Reading. www.nhsa.org

North Carolina Partnership for Children Inc., *Raleigh, NC*

Dissemination of a model state comprehensive early childhood education initiative. Two years, $521,200.

In 1993, under the leadership of Governor James B. Hunt, North Carolina created the Smart Start program, a comprehensive early childhood initiative to ensure that every child enters school healthy and ready to learn. Smart Start now operates statewide in North Carolina, providing high-quality child care, parenting education and preventive health care to families. The Smart Start model—found by an independent evaluation of the program to substantially improve children's school readiness—is now being implemented at the national level. To assist the process, the North Carolina Partnership for Children, which oversees program management and technical assistance of the initiative, is disseminating publications and training tools to leadership groups working to adapt the model in ten states.

Karen Ponder, Executive Director. www.smartstart-nc.org

WGBH Educational Foundation, *Boston, MA*

Production and educational outreach for a public television series to promote young children's literacy skills. Two years, $1,500,000.

Building on research indicating that viewing educational television can enhance early literacy skills, WGBH Public Television and Sirius Thinking created *Between the Lions*, an award-winning, half-hour daily television program devoted to teaching young children to read and write. Set in a public library and featuring a family of literate lions, the show targets children ages four to seven, their parents and early childhood teachers. A recent evaluation of the program, conducted by the University of Kansas, noted that young children who watch regularly improve their early reading skills. Through an outreach and public awareness campaign about the importance of early literacy, the program's creative and educational components are being used to forge alliances between literacy and library organizations, early childhood professional associations and publishing companies.

Beth Kirsch, Between the Lions Project Director. www.wgbh.org

Higher Education

American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, *Washington, DC*

Accreditation assistance to teacher preparation institutions and strengthening teacher candidate assessment. Two years, $520,200.

The American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education is conducting a coordinated set of activities to assist colleges of education that are strengthening their teacher preparation programs to meet new performance-based accreditation standards. To address the challenge of "Taking Responsibility to Improve Student Learning," the first strand will extend the reach of an existing accreditation assistance program to 35 additional institutions. Because new accreditation standards require evidence that teacher candidates impact student learning, the second strand will develop and provide indices of program quality, resources for teacher preparation institutions that link K-12 student assessment information to teacher candidate performance and models that help candidates assess their effectiveness with students.

Carol E. Smith, Vice President, Professional Issues. www.aacte.org

Council for Aid to Education, *New York, NY*

Feasibility study on the development of an assessment system to measure the "value added" of a liberal arts education. Eighteen months, $350,000.

In 2000, the Council for Aid to Education, a subsidiary of RAND Corporation, began an initiative to assess the quality of undergraduate education in the United States. In preparation for developing a system to assess the value added by a liberal arts education—the competencies, knowledge and values gained by an individual attending a particular institution—staff members are conducting a feasibility study. Activities of the study include a review of the literature on assessment, an analytical summary of data from prior studies, the selection of institutions for conducting case studies, the development of tests and protocols for collecting additional data and the formation of a national advisory group. The Corporation is joined in its support of the feasibility study by the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, the Christian A. Johnson Endeavor Foundation, the Exxon-Mobil Foundation, the AT&T Foundation and the Ford Foundation.

Richard H. Hersh, Senior Fellow. www.cae.org

Exploratorium, *San Francisco, CA*

Dissemination of a model teacher induction program. Forty-two months, $471,400.

To establish a system of support for teachers during their first two years in the classroom, Exploratorium, a San Francisco-based science museum, is developing a model disciplinary-specific induction program for middle and secondary school science teachers. The model, which features summer institutes and weekend seminars, brings together beginning teachers and experienced teachers who serve as mentors and in-class coaches. An extensive evaluation of the model, indicating results and lessons learned, will be disseminated to academic, research and policymaking communities. Corporation funds are supporting the evaluation of the project and dissemination of findings as well as workshops for 90 professional developers who are working with beginning teachers in their home districts or universities across the country.

Linda Shore, Director. www.exploratorium.edu

Mathematica Policy Research, Inc., *Washington, DC*

Evaluation of an alternative teacher certification program. Thirty-three months, $477,800.

Although schools of education will train most of the 2.5 million teachers predicted to be needed in the United States over the next ten years, policymakers and educators are considering the expanded use of alternative certification programs to recruit and train teachers. To measure the effectiveness of these programs, Mathematica Policy Research, a nationally recognized policy research organization, is undertaking a project to evaluate the impact on student learning made by teachers recruited through Teach for

America—a program that recruits talented college graduates, not formally trained as teachers, to spend two years teaching low-income students—compared to that made by traditionally prepared teachers. The study will assess student outcomes in elementary schools in five districts, taking into account such factors as the experience levels of teachers and the cost benefit ratios of anticipated years of service. The final report will be distributed to local administrators as well as to state and national policymakers.

Daniel Mayer, Researcher. www.mathematica-mpr.com

Middlebury College, *Middlebury, VT*

One-time funding of the establishment of an urban education network to promote best practices in teaching literature and writing. Three years, $1,206,100.

The Bread Loaf School of English, a summer graduate program of Middlebury College that seeks to enhance the skills of middle and high school teachers of English, is establishing a national urban reform network in five cities, to be called Bread Loaf in the Cities (BLC). Building on the success of the school's rural teacher network, BLC is providing professional development to middle and high school teachers and administrators that stresses content-rich studies in literature and writing. The overarching goal of BLC, which also offers telecommunications training in an effort to support its networking activities, is to improve the reading and writing skills of students in the schools where participants teach. A final conference is being held to disseminate project results and a business plan developed to support expansion of the network to additional cities.

James H. Maddox, Director, Bread Loaf School of English and Dean of Graduate and Special Programs. www.blse.middlebury.edu

National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education, *Washington, DC*

Project to develop and implement a performance-based system of accreditation for teacher education institutions. Two years, $600,000.

The National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE), a coalition of thirty-three organizations representing teachers, school specialists and state and local policymakers, is revising its accreditation standards for teacher education institutions. The revisions emphasize teacher candidates' skills and knowledge of subject matter rather than the availability of courses and resources within particular teacher education programs. The competence of teacher candidates under the new system will be assessed through examinations, on-demand tasks and longitudinal evaluations of performance. The revised system, called NCATE 2000, is aligned with licensing and professional development standards, which are also moving to performance-based systems.

Emerson J. Elliot, Director. www.ncate.org

National Governors' Association Center for Best Practices, *Washington, DC*

Joint project with the National Conference of State Legislatures to provide assistance to state leaders in strengthening teacher education. Two years, $505,400.

With previous support from the Corporation, the National Governors' Association and the National Conference of State Legislatures provided technical assistance to thirty-one state recipients of federal Title II Teacher Quality Enhancement grants. In addition to assisting state efforts to reform teacher education, the two organizations are providing more customized support to five states where state policymakers are engaged in Title II grant activities and strategies to implement state action plans. Two issue briefs and a final report will also be produced.

Bridget Curran, Senior Policy Analyst. www.nga.org/center

Prichard Committee for Academic Excellence, *Lexington, KY*

Public engagement campaign to improve teacher quality. Two years, $439,200.

The Prichard Committee for Academic Excellence is a nonpartisan, citizen advocacy organization focused on school reform in Kentucky. Its research and public education, widely credited with having set the stage for passage of the Kentucky Education Reform Act

in 1990, has influenced the work of education reformers in other states. The Committee is expanding its work on teacher education reform by designing and implementing strategies to inform the public about the importance of improving teacher quality and engage members of the public as advocates for the improvement of teacher preparation and professional development. A paper analyzing the Kentucky experience and suggesting strategies and materials that may be adapted to circumstances in other states will be produced.

Robert F. Sexton, Executive Director.
www.prichardcommittee.org

RAND Corporation, *Santa Monica, CA*

Research and dissemination on the practice and potential of measuring student learning as an indicator of teacher effectiveness. Eighteen months, $476,500.

Value-added modeling (VAM), a method of assessing teacher quality, seeks to measure a teacher's effectiveness by measuring the "value added" to a student's knowledge by that teacher. Because the method entails testing students before and after they receive instruction from a specific teacher, it requires the creation of standardized tests that can also account for variables in learning, such as class size and students' socioeconomic status, parental involvement and intrinsic motivation. With this grant, RAND is conducting a review of the literature on VAM, examining key research and testing multiple models against existing databases in order to isolate methodological difficulties and improve techniques.

Daniel Koretz, Professor of Education, Harvard Graduate School of Education. www.rand.org

SRI International, *Menlo Park, CA*

National study to identify quality standards for alternative teacher certification programs. Forty months, $1,168,800.

The unprecedented demand for 2.5 million new teachers in the United States over the next decade has fostered the emergence and significant consideration of teacher certification programs available outside of traditional schools of education. To strengthen the information available about alternative certification programs and evaluate the relative effectiveness of the programs in preparing teachers, SRI International is undertaking a study that aims to identify normative standards of quality for alternative teacher certification programs. Staff members are conducting an extensive review of the literature on teacher preparation and alternative certification, developing categories based on program characteristics and conducting case studies of eight programs.

Daniel C. Humphrey, Senior Education Policy Analyst.
www.sri.com

Stanford University, *Stanford, CA*

Experimental test of the effects of racial diversity in higher education on students' learning. One year, $125,000.

A team of social psychologists and researchers at three research universities is conducting an experiment to determine the extent to which racially diverse educational settings lead to greater gains in students' critical thinking skills—one of the aims of liberal education—than do racially similar settings. At its most general level, the project asks whether "integrative complexity" in thinking increases as a result of a specific college practice, such as a peer discussion group structured in a particular way; further, it seeks to measure the degree to which integrative complexity is affected by the racial diversity or similarity of the group in question. Beyond potentially providing crucial evidence that a college education increases critical thinking skills, results of the project may inform course design and help shape admissions policies focused on diversity. The Corporation is being joined in its support of the research team by the Flora and William Hewlett Foundation, the Ford Foundation and the Irvine Foundation.

Kenji Hakuta, Vida Jacks Professor of Education, School of Education.

Teach for America, Inc., *New York, NY*

Expansion activities. Three years, $500,000.

Teach For America is a national corps of recent college graduates from a variety of academic backgrounds who commit to teaching in urban and rural public schools in low-income areas for two years. The goal of the program is to establish an immediate impact on the lives of students in disadvantaged communities by providing them with excellent teachers and to have a longer-term impact on the quality of education available in those communities by influencing the civic commitment and career direction of corps members themselves. Teach For America, which currently has 1,400 members teaching in 13 geographic areas across the country, is undertaking a three-year plan to expand its corps membership to 3,800 and its teaching sites to 25.

Wendy Kopp, Founder and President.
www.teachforamerica.org

University of Washington, *Seattle, WA*

Strengthening and Sustaining Teachers project. Thirty months, $490,200.

The University of Washington's Strengthening and Sustaining Teachers project aims to build a new model of teacher development in three pilot urban school districts. With the goal of improving the quality of teaching, the project is redesigning and developing a continuum of support between pre-service education, the induction phase—the first two years of teaching—and professional development opportunities that extend through the fifth year of teaching. The project will actively link the primary constituents of teacher training and support—a university, a public school district and a teacher union—in each site and will disseminate information on the model to encourage broader adoption. Corporation funds are supporting implementation activities in two sites, Albuquerque, New Mexico, and Portland, Maine.

Patricia A. Wasley, Dean, College of Education.

Urban School Reform

American Youth Policy Forum, *Washington, DC*

Public education activities to improve policies in urban secondary education. Three years, $400,000.

The American Youth Policy Forum (AYPF) is bringing together a wide range of policymakers for a series of forums, work groups and field trips on issues of urban high school reform at the federal, state and local level. Building on its successful work group, High Schools of the Millennium, AYPF is also facilitating a knowledge exchange between policymakers and practitioners working on high school reform issues that aims to expand the dialogue of standards-based reform beyond issues of accountability and high stakes testing. AYPF will produce policy reports that summarize the dialogues as well as a summary report to synthesize lessons learned and identify policy options and recommendations. The reports will be disseminated electronically and through AYPF's extensive network of partnering organizations.

Betsy Brand, Co-director. www.aypf.org

Aspen Institute, Inc., *Washington, DC*

Urban high school reform project. Two years, $466,500.

The Aspen Institute's Program on Education aims to build and sustain a national dialogue that emphasizes restructuring high schools and transforming teaching and learning so that all students achieve in the new institutions. In the next two years, the program is expanding its scope to examine how four policy concerns—standards and curriculum, technology, small school size and market energies—might put pressure on the current high school system. The program is commissioning papers, which will be published and widely disseminated, convening workshops for national, state and local policymakers and practitioners, working collaboratively with educational associations and other reform efforts, building a bipartisan

network of federal education policymakers and publishing an edited volume of its findings.

Nancy Pelz-Paget, Director, Program on Education. www.aspeninst.org

Board of Control for Southern Regional Education, *Atlanta, GA*

Strengthening the implementation of a comprehensive school reform design for high schools in urban districts. Three years, $900,000.

The Board of Control for Southern Regional Education—known as the Southern Regional Education Board (SREB)—is undertaking a project to implement its comprehensive school reform design, called High Schools That Work, at high schools in urban districts. To ensure that urban schools can support the design, the project aims to bring district policies and resources into alignment with the design, strengthen the skills of district and school leadership teams to direct improvement efforts, increase assistance to districts and schools in implementing the design, expand services to urban districts and schools and involve district and school leaders in developing an improvement agenda. As part of the project, SREB will provide technical assistance, annual assessments, consultation and professional development for district and school leaders, and establish an Urban Leadership Council to address policy barriers to high school reform.

Gene Bottoms, Senior Vice President. www.sreb.org

Campaign for Fiscal Equity, Inc., *New York, NY*

National project to research and promote strategies that link educational adequacy litigation, civic engagement and high academic standards to improve urban schools. Two years, $300,000.

The Campaign for Fiscal Equity, an organization with experience and expertise in school finance litigation, research and public engagement, has designed a new initiative to link its work with the standards movement in urban school reform. The initiative, entitled Advocacy Center for Children's Educational Success with Standards (ACCESS), will bring together advocates, researchers, educational leaders and attorneys to examine research and formulate remedial strategies that address inequities and support standards-based reform. Through the ACCESS initiative, the campaign is holding three symposia for researchers and attorneys and a national conference, to include parents and educators. It is also publishing an annual newsletter and developing a book on linking litigation with effective strategies to promote the success of all students through higher academic standards.

Michael A. Rebell, Executive Director and Counsel. www.cfequity.org

Carnegie Corporation of New York, *New York, NY*

Technical assistance and management services for the Schools for a New Society initiative. One year, $550,000.

The Corporation's *Schools for a New Society* initiative aims to foster comprehensive, systemwide school reform. Ten districts and communities with records of district and civic leadership for school reform have been selected to develop action plans to assess the status of high school education in their communities, create new visions for their high schools and increase their community's capacity to overcome entrenched systemic barriers to excellence. The Academy for Educational Development—which has extensive experience in whole school reform, school and district self-assessment, school-community collaborations and building broad-based coalitions to develop better schools—is establishing a cross-site learning network for the school–community partnerships and providing technical assistance to the individual sites.

Michele Cahill, Senior Program Officer. www.carnegie.org

Center for Collaborative Education, Metro Boston, Inc., *Boston, MA*

Final grant to enhance the effectiveness and sustainability of the "Turning Points" model for comprehensive middle school reform. Three years, $900,000.

The Center for Collaborative Education's (CCE) design for comprehensive middle school reform, based on the Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development's 1989 report, *Turning Points: Preparing American Youth for the 21st Century*, and ten years of research on and practice in urban, rural and suburban middle schools throughout the United States, seeks to create high-performing middle schools that better educate young adolescents as they reach the "turning point" between childhood and adulthood. The design, called "Turning Points," emphasizes the creation of small learning communities where students take a rigorous core academic program taught by teachers prepared to teach young adults. With this grant, CCE is developing training materials in literacy, numeracy, student assessment and family and community involvement in middle school and providing technical assistance to and developing partnerships with regional support centers for the "Turning Points" design.

Dan French, Executive Director. www.ccebos.org

Education Trust, Inc., *Washington, DC*

Research and dissemination on the achievement and opportunity gaps in American education. Thirty months, $1,000,000.

The Education Trust, a nationally respected advocacy organization, is conducting a project to provide educators and civic leaders nationwide with access to national, state and local data, data analysis and assistance with interpreting and using data for planning. The goal is to enable reform leaders to examine the achievement gap, determine the ways it is overcome in certain circumstances and consider critical policies and practices that may be central to change. Members of the project are developing and disseminating six online PowerPoint presentations to assist users in understanding data on teacher quality, high school reform, middle school reform, student achievement in urban districts and U.S. and international comparisons. The site will also feature a community data guide, allowing local users to compare the performance of local schools and districts with national and state trends.

Kati Haycock, Director. www.edtrust.org

National Center on Education and the Economy, *Washington, DC*

Planning and dissemination activities for a National Institute for School Leadership. Six months, 300,000.

The National Center on Education and the Economy (NCEE), an internationally recognized education reform organization, has conducted a research and program design project over the past year to develop new options for successfully training principals to lead schools that foster high achievement for all students. To implement the design and promote national dialogue about the role of principals in school reform, NCEE is creating a National Institute for School Leadership, recruiting staff and expert consultants, constructing a detailed curriculum, publishing and disseminating a set of commissioned papers, working with a select group of higher education leaders to design a productive role for universities in the national institute, and establishing partnerships to launch the model of principal training in selected urban districts.

Judy Codding, Vice President. www.ncee.org

National Center on Education and the Economy, *Washington, DC*

Launch and implementation of the National Institute for School Leadership. Eleven months, $700,000.

The National Center on Education and the Economy (NCEE) conducted a research and program-design project to develop new options for successfully training principals to lead schools that foster high achievement for all students. To implement the design, NCEE is creating a National Institute for School Leadership (NISL), which will work in partnership with districts and local universities throughout the country. In its first year, NISL is developing the Executive Development Program for New School Principals. Based on models of leadership development in

business and the military and strong instructional knowledge, the program uses mentoring, teaming approaches and web-based courses to train new school leaders.

Judy Codding, Vice President. www.ncee.org

National League of Cities Institute Inc., *Washington, DC*

Municipal Leadership in Education. Three years, $511,100.

The National League of Cities (NLC) established the Institute for Youth, Education and Families to strengthen the capacity of local officials to influence the quality of public education in their cities. The centerpiece of the institute's first project, Municipal Leadership in Education, is an intensive 30-month technical assistance effort to help two sets of 6-8 cities develop and implement strategies for improving educational outcomes in their communities. Members of the project are conducting an array of activities, including site visits and telephone and electronic networking, and developing briefing materials, periodic reports and a compendium of "best practices" to increase understanding among the broad membership of leaders in NLC of promising ways to strengthen school reform as key policymakers and civic leaders.

Clifford M. Johnson, Executive Director, Institute for Youth, Education, and Families. www.nlc.org

New Visions for Public Schools, Inc., *New York, NY*

Support of the New Century High Schools Consortium for New York City. Five years, $10,000,000.

In an innovative partnership with the New York City Board of Education and the United Federation of Teachers, Carnegie Corporation of New York, the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation and the Open Society Institute have created the New Century High Schools Consortium for New York City. The consortium, which will also have a research and policy component, is supporting the redesign of ten large, low performing comprehensive high schools in New York City as well as the creation of additional small schools in neighborhoods of highest need. The three foundations are each providing $10 million over five years toward the development of effective high schools. New Visions for Public Schools, an education reform organization with experience in small school development and a record of partnership with the New York City school system, is administering the consortium.

Robert L. Hughes, President. www.newvisions.org

New York City Partnership Foundation, Inc., *New York, NY*

Evaluation of an initiative to improve underperforming urban school districts. Three years, $900,000.

The Breakthrough for Learning program of the New York City Partnership Foundation is a comprehensive initiative to transform two of New York City's poorest and lowest achieving community school districts. Through a combination of leadership and professional development, monetary incentives, enhanced recruitment and other forms of strategic support, the program aims to foster effective leadership, enhance teaching skills and strengthen curricula. To measure changes in teacher quality and student achievement in the participating districts, Abt Associates is conducting a rigorous external evaluation that aims to assess the impact of the program over time. The evaluation will also provide an analysis of ways to improve the program. Annual assessment reports and a final analysis of lessons learned will be disseminated to districts across the country.

Stefan Pryor, Executive Director, Breakthrough for Learning. www.nycp.org

University of Pennsylvania, *Philadelphia, PA*

Implementation of a university-school district leadership training center. Three years, $500,000.

The University of Pennsylvania is creating the Penn Center for Education Leadership to identify and prepare significant numbers of new education leaders for the mid-Atlantic region, strengthen existing leadership

capacity in urban school districts and serve as a national center for research, documentation and evaluation of effective education leadership. The center's new leadership degree and certification programs, including an Executive Ed.D. in K-12 Leadership, will draw on the faculty expertise of the university's Graduate School of Education, the Wharton School of Business and the Annenberg School of Communications. In addition, it will engage students with an innovative curriculum that integrates research and practice. Over three years the center expects to graduate 100 newly certified principals and superintendents.

Susan H. Fuhrman, Dean, Graduate School of Education.

Stone Lantern Films, Inc., *Suffern, NY*

Post-production and outreach activities for a documentary series on the history of American public education. One year, $225,000.

Stone Lantern Films has produced a four-part documentary series on the history of public education in the United States, which aired on PBS in fall 2001. The series, entitled *SCHOOL: The Story of American Public Education*, focuses on the role of public schools over the years—including previous struggles and crises—and is part of a national education initiative launched by Stone Lantern to address the challenges facing public education. Through mailings, workshops, a speaker's bureau, regional forums and premiere screenings, the initiative is engaging teachers, civic leaders and parents in an effort to expand and enhance the dialogue about public education and build consensus on critical education issues.

Sarah Patton, Co-Producer, SCHOOL.

The After-School Corporation, *New York, NY*

Evaluation of the New York City in-school after-school initiative by Policy Studies Associates. Two years, $500,000.

The After-School Corporation (TASC), established in 1998 by the Open Society Institute, is the largest and most comprehensive provider of after-school programs in public schools in the United States; with almost 200 programs throughout the state of New York, TASC serves 45,000 K-12 students. Under the guidance of an expert advisory committee, TASC has contracted with Policy Studies Associates (PSA) to conduct a five-year evaluation that will examine the effects of the programs on students, parents and participating institutions; the experiences of the nonprofit sponsors and schools as the programs are implemented; and the programs' practices and policies that are linked to sustainability. Under this grant, PSA is also conducting an in-depth analysis of TASC programs at the high school level.

Lucy N. Friedman, President. www.tascorp.org

Discretionary Grants

American Educational Research Association, *Washington, DC*

One-year grant of $24,900 toward a project to convene education experts to synthesize and disseminate existing empirical research on teacher preparation

Boston University, *Boston, MA*

One-year grant of $25,000 toward an early literacy development initiative

Center for Investigative Reporting, Inc., *San Francisco, CA*

Two-month grant of $25,000 toward production of a television program on school reform

Joy G. Dryfoos, *Hastings-on-Hudson, NY*

Nine-month grant of $25,000 for research and writing on creating full-service community schools

Families and Work Institute Inc., *New York, NY*

Three-month grant of $25,000 toward planning a national school readiness collaborative fund

Institute for Student Achievement, Inc., *Lake Success, NY*

Six-month grant of $25,000 toward strategic planning for the Institute for Student Achievement, Inc.

National Black Child Development Institute, Inc., *Washington, DC*

Seven-month grant of $25,000 for a research meeting on the causes of reading problems among disadvantaged African American children

National Parenting Association, Inc., *New York, NY*

One-year grant of $25,000 toward an election year survey on parent voters' attitudes

Public Agenda Foundation, Inc., *New York, NY*

Four-month grant of $25,000 toward an online guide to early childhood education and child care issues

Teachers College, Columbia University, *New York, NY*

Six-month grant of $25,000 for planning and initial implementation of a program to recruit and prepare Columbia University seniors to work in New York City public schools upon graduation

Tides Center, *San Francisco, CA*

Six-month grant of $25,000 for a research project examining the relationship between public values and social policy for young children

What Kids Can Do Inc., *Providence, RI*

Six-month grant of $25,000 toward support

Wheelock College, *Boston, MA*

Six-month grant of $25,000 toward a consultative meeting on strengthening the early childhood education workforce

Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation, *Princeton, NJ*

Six-month grant of $25,000 toward support of the Commission on the High School Senior Year

Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation, *Princeton, NJ*

One-year grant of $25,000 toward regional public meetings on the findings of the Commission on the High School Senior Year

International Development

Enhancing Women's Opportunities in Higher Education

University of Dar es Salaam, *Dar es Salaam, Tanzania*

A scholarship program for undergraduate women. Three years, $1,000,000.

Women currently comprise about 25 percent of the undergraduate enrollment at the University of Dar es Salaam. In many fields, such as the sciences, engineering and commerce, the figure is far lower. As part of its strategic plan for institutional reform, the university set targets for increasing women's enrollment to 30 percent by 2004 and to 50 percent by 2011. To assist the university in achieving this goal, the Corporation is supporting undergraduate scholarships for women. In each of the next three years, beginning in October 2001, approximately 50 women will receive scholarships to study at the university. Availability of the scholarships will be announced through a variety of media outlets. A university-based scholarship committee will review applications, select the recipients and monitor progress.

Bertha O. Koda, Chairperson, Gender Dimension Programme Committee.

Makerere University, *Kampala, Uganda*

A scholarship program for undergraduate women. Three years, $1,000,000.

Women's enrollment at Makerere University has grown from about 18 percent of the student body in 1989 to more than 33 percent in 2000, partly a result of a recent policy decision to allow privately-sponsored students to attend the university, helping to create new opportunities for some women. A university scholarship program, launched in the 2001-02 academic year, aims to address several remaining barriers. Each year, the scholarship program for undergraduate women will provide financial assistance to about 68 new students; 85 percent of the awards are to fund study in the biological and physical sciences departments where women are underrepresented. In addition, the program is focusing recruitment efforts on women from the northern and eastern regions of Uganda, which send fewer students to the university than other regions. The program will be located within the university's newly created Gender Mainstreaming Unit and a management committee will oversee the recruitment, selection and monitoring processes.

Sebastian M. Ngobi, Acting Academic Registrar.

Revitalizing Public Libraries

City of Johannesburg Library and Information Services, *Sandton, South Africa*

Activities to increase literacy and reading enrichment programs for children and adolescents. Three years, $500,400.

In 2001, the Corporation launched an initiative to revitalize public library systems in selected Commonwealth countries in Africa. The initiative, *Gateways to Information: African Public Libraries*, aims to foster the development of literacy programs; strengthen linkages between education and library systems; promote continuing and adult education programs; and support efforts to bridge the digital divide. Johannesburg, which is located in Gauteng Province, the most densely populated province in South Africa, is in the process of merging with five nearby independent municipalities. As part of the Corporation's *Gateways to Information* initiative, this grant supports the efforts of the City of Johannesburg Library and Information Services to establish five new libraries each year over the next three years and to launch a series of reading enrichment programs for children and adolescents in the region.

Bongi Mokaba, Project Leader.

Durban Metropolitan Library Services,
Durban, South Africa

Activities to increase adult literacy and access to a community information database. Three years, $750,000.

Durban Metropolitan Library Services is located in KwaZulu/Natal Province, which has the highest adult illiteracy rate of all of South Africa's provinces. Under the Corporation's *Gateways to Information* initiative, the system is establishing literacy centers in 60 public libraries and expanding the availability of its community information link network (CommLink Info), currently offered in only a few libraries, to all 96 branches.

Ramesh Jayaram, Director.

Foundation for Library and Information Service Development (Pty) Ltd.,
Pretoria, South Africa

Development of an inventory of public and community libraries in South Africa. Six months, $46,000.

To address the disparities in the geographic distribution of public libraries and in the provision of library services in South Africa, the National Library of South Africa is undertaking an inventory of public libraries in cities and rural communities. Members of the project, to result in a final report, are documenting the physical location of libraries, expenditure on books and other materials, size of collections, number of personnel and their level of training, patterns of library usage, fees charged for library services, use of technology and demographic information of residents in the districts served by each library. The goal is to improve library services, set up more public libraries where needed and develop literacy campaigns to promote reading. The Foundation for Library and Information Service Development is the supporting foundation of the National Library of South Africa.

Peter J. Lor, Acting National Librarian.

Free State Provincial Library and Information Services,
Bloemfontein, South Africa

Activities to expand services, enhance collections for children and adults and develop an electronic infrastructure. Three years, $650,000.

Free State, formerly Orange Free State, is one of South Africa's oldest provinces. With this grant—part of the Corporation's *Gateways to Information* initiative—Free State Provincial Library and Information Services (FSPLIS) is expanding service outlets in Qwa Qwa, a mountainous region with a population of 500,000 to 750,000 blacks. In partnership with the Department of Education's initiative—Schools as Centres for Community Life—FSPLIS is establishing six libraries in schools that will serve students in the mornings and the general public in the afternoon and evenings. In addition, FSPLIS is converting Qwa Qwa's one library into a study, reference and adult lending library, creating a children's and parents' library and developing public information kiosks in partnership with the National Government Communication and Information Services.

Jacomien Schimper, Deputy Director for Technical Services.

International Council of Scientific Unions,
Paris, France

Public library projects conducted by the International Network for the Availability of Scientific Publications, Oxford, United Kingdom. Three years, $1,062,200.

Established in 1992 by the International Council of Scientific Unions, the International Network for the Availability of Scientific Publications (INASP) aims to improve worldwide access to scientific and scholarly information. With support from the Corporation, the network conducted a review of the literature on the state of libraries in selected sub-Saharan African countries to identify gaps in knowledge and options for strengthening services. Under this grant, the center is conducting research and providing training to librarians on electronic information and communications technology and on standards and performance measurements in public libraries. The center is also

undertaking activities to enhance the capacity of library associations to communicate with members and convening technical assistance meetings in collaboration with African organizations and associations.

Carol Priestley, Director, International Network for the Availability of Scientific Publications.

Mpumalanga Provincial Library and Information Services, *Nelspruit, South Africa*

Activities to provide electronic networking and Internet access to public libraries and bookmobiles. Three years, $493,900.

A strategic plan developed by Mpumalanga Provincial Library and Information Services noted that only 23 percent of libraries in the region have computers and that only 8 percent have access to the Internet. With this grant, the system is strengthening access to information through the purchase of computers and software for libraries and mobile units and through the provision of software training to librarians. The grant to the library system in Mpumalanga, one of five new provinces established since 1994, is part of the Corporation's *Gateways to Information* initiative.

Francois Hendrikz, Director.

Nelson Mandela Metropolitan Library Services, *Port Elizabeth, South Africa*

Activities to Increase Services for Children, Expand Services in Underserved Areas, and Train Staff. Three Years, $750,000.

Nelson Mandela Metropolitan Municipality, located in the Eastern Cape Province where Nelson Mandela grew up, is a newly formed metro area that is in the process of integrating the library systems of three cities, Despatch, Uitenhage and Port Elizabeth. Although there are five universities, three technikons and twenty technical colleges in the area, 20.9 percent of the population has never had any schooling. With this grant, the system is developing activities to increase services for children and expand services in undeserved areas by strengthening staff development and training opportunities, purchasing computers and software and generating awareness of library services among schools. This grant is part of the Corporation's Gateways to Information initiative.

Karlien de Klerk, Project Director.

Northern Cape Provincial Library and Information Services, *Kimberley, South Africa*

Activities to Increase Literacy, Preserve Indigenous Languages, Enhance Technology and Train Staff. Three Years, $666,500.

Northern Cape is the largest province in South Africa, but has the smallest population of all the nine provinces. Thirty-five percent of the population live in rural areas and the province has very limited resources for strengthening its infrastructure. As part of the Corporation's *Gateways to Information* initiative, this grant supports the Northern Cape Provincial Library and Information Services' programs to increase literacy, preserve indigenous languages, enhance technology and train librarians to overcome the digital divide in the region.

Sunita Vallabh, Director.

Strengthening African Universities

University of Cape Town, *Rondebosch, South Africa*

Development of science and engineering capacity in selected African universities. Five years, $705,600.

The University of Cape Town's University Science, Humanities and Engineering Partnerships in Africa (USHEPiA) program was initiated in 1994 with planning support from the Corporation and the Rockefeller Foundation. The goals of the program are to promote collaboration among African researchers and build institutional capacity in its seven partner universities: Makerere University, Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology

and the universities of Botswana, Dar es Salaam, Nairobi, Zimbabwe and Zambia. USHEPiA operates primarily through the provision of staff development fellowships, which are awarded to junior faculty at the partner universities to complete either masters or doctoral degrees at the University of Cape Town. In addition to funding five science and engineering fellowships, this grant supports the initiation of a small grants program for fellows who have returned to their home universities.

Martin E. West, Deputy Vice Chancellor.

Council on Higher Education, *Pretoria, South Africa*

One-time funding to design and implement a national quality assurance system for South African universities. Thirty months, $400,000.

The Council on Higher Education, established as a statutory body under the Higher Education Act of 1997, has the mandate to design and implement a national quality assurance system for higher education institutions in South Africa. To accomplish this task, the members of the council's Higher Education Quality Committee are undertaking a variety of activities over the next several years, including developing an accreditation process for new programs in public and private higher education institutions, conducting educational outreach to promote the importance of implementing quality assurance practices, building the committee's capacity to carry out its activities and designing and pilot testing frameworks for the new quality assurance system. The first round of institutional audits using the new system is scheduled to begin in 2002.

Mala Singh, Executive Director, Higher Education Quality Committee. http://education.pwv.gov.za/che

University of Dar es Salaam, *Dar es Salaam, Tanzania*

Implementation of institutional transformation. Three years, $3,491,000.

In 1993 the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM) initiated a project to develop and implement strategies for institutional reform. To build on the project and address the main recommendations of a case study of the university's progress commissioned by the Corporation and three other U.S. foundations that joined in a partnership to strengthen African universities, UDSM is launching a plan to reorganize and computerize the university library, establish a union catalog and bibliographic databases, provide video conferencing and other educational tools and organize computer literacy and training sessions for users. In addition, the university is conducting tracer studies, facilitating an assessment of the quality of academic programs and building a system of direct access to information for staff and students. Two books summarizing the university's seven-year experience in institutional transformation will be published and disseminated.

Tolly Mbwette, Program Manager.

Makerere University, *Kampala, Uganda*

Institutional development. Three years, $2,015,000.

In 2000, Makerere University prepared a five-year institutional development plan with support from the Corporation, Rockefeller Foundation and other sources. With this grant, the university is implementing six of the strategic goals set out in the plan: the establishment of a Gender Mainstreaming Unit and a gender program; the training of librarians and the acquisition of publications and equipment for the libraries of science-based faculties; the creation of a distance learning math and science bachelor's degree for schoolteachers; the provision of scholarships for doctoral training of faculty; the study of the effects on academic quality of the expansion of student enrollment; and the study of employment opportunities for graduates. A Steering Committee, which includes the Vice Chancellor and other members of the university community, is overseeing the activities.

Nelson Sewankambo, Chairman, Steering Committee.

Ministry of Education, Republic of South Africa, *Pretoria, South Africa*

One-time funding of a study to develop a national higher education information and application service. One year, $283,400.

To foster broader access to higher education and provide institutions with data on enrollment trends and other information essential to strategic planning—including the rate at which gender and race equity is being achieved at universities—South Africa's Department of Education is developing a proposal for a national information and application service. The goals of the service, to be operational by 2003, are to inform applicants of available programs and career opportunities and acquaint higher education institutions with the pool of qualified applicants. Project members are conducting surveys of schools and applicants, reviewing and assessing models of services to identify best practices and convening meetings with stakeholders to discuss emerging findings. The proposal will comprise a plan for the structure, governance and funding of the service, as well as a program for its implementation.

Nasima Badsha, Deputy Director General, Higher Education. www.education.pwv.gov.za

Ministry of Education, Republic of South Africa, *Pretoria, South Africa*

One-time funding of a project to strengthen history pedagogy and enhance the status of history within the education system. Three years, $500,000.

A panel on history and archeology established by the South African government released a report in December 2000 addressing the quality of history programs in high schools and recommending the establishment of a National History Commission to identify ways of strengthening the teaching of history, including the improvement of teacher training and the provision of quality textbooks and other secondary materials. Corporation funds are supporting curriculum development, textbook development, oral history activities and advocacy materials. This is a special grant made in the context of South Africa's circumstances, where efforts are being made to rebuild national identity and move the process of reconciliation forward.

Kader Asmal, Minister of Education. www.education.pwv.gov.za

University of Natal, *Durban, South Africa*

One-time funding to establish the KwaZulu Natal Centre for HIV/AIDS Networking. Forty-two months, $1,120,700.

To address the HIV/AIDS epidemic, which in South Africa has reached virtually every sector of society, the University of Natal-Durban is establishing the KwaZulu Natal Centre for HIV/AIDS Networking. The university, which hosts some of the most advanced HIV/AIDS research teams in South Africa, is creating the research and networking center to analyze the strategies of other countries—particularly African countries—in addressing HIV/AIDS, coordinate and stimulate research and community service in the region, mainstream AIDS education within the university and conduct HIV/AIDS-related data collection, publication and dissemination to researchers, policymakers, members of the university community and of the public.

John D. Volmink, Pro Vice Chancellor and Executive Director: NUDF.

University of Natal, *Durban, South Africa*

One-time funding of a science and mathematics teacher development project in the province of KwaZulu Natal. Three years, $467,100.

For fifteen years the University of Natal's Centre for the Advancement of Science and Mathematics Education (CASME) has been training science and mathematics teachers in KwaZulu Natal, one of the most populous and poorest provinces of South Africa. To strengthen science and math teaching in the region, foster sustained teacher participation in ongoing training and enhance students' access to science-based university degrees regardless of race, gender and income, the center is undertaking a science and mathematics teacher development project. Members of the project,

which targets nearly 250 schools, 500 teachers and 40,000 high school students, are convening five-day training institutes for teachers, conducting assessments of students' skill levels and developing teaching materials for inservice and teacher training. A distance-learning Bachelor of Education program will also be designed and offered to teachers.

David Brookes, Director, CASME.

NBI Foundation, Inc., *Johannesburg, South Africa*

One-time funding of a project to improve the quality of South African schools by training school leaders and teachers in evaluation, management and curriculum development and providing in-service training for science and mathematics teachers. Two years, $499,700.

The NBI Foundation, a consortium of corporations in South Africa that aims to bring business and management skills to development issues, is extending its educational program, currently implemented in three of the country's nine provinces, to the Eastern Cape Region. To increase schools' capacity to implement reforms, the program—Education Quality Improvement Programme (EQUIP)—fosters school-community partnerships and provides training and technical assistance to teachers, administrators and parents on effective school management. EQUIP is coordinated by a team of educationalists and supervised by a Board of Directors.

Andre Fourie, Director, Effective Governance.

Rhodes University, *Grahamstown, South Africa*

One-time funding of a project to train teachers and strengthen a research center for science, mathematics and technology. Four years, $817,500.

Providing pre- and in-service training to high school teachers, particularly black and/or female teachers, constitutes South Africa's primary strategy to improve the quality of the country's secondary education and increase the number of students admitted to science- and mathematics-based university programs. The Education Faculty at Rhodes University is developing a four-year program in education that emphasizes the scientific disciplines; twenty-five students from disadvantaged schools are being funded for the program in its first year of operation. In addition, teachers from selected schools in Eastern Cape are being funded to attend the university's masters degree and advanced certificate programs in education. A research center will support these activities, providing outreach to high schools and an assessment of the results. The programs, which aim to strengthen socioeconomic development in the region, will coordinate with similar programs in Eastern Cape, as well as with Corporation-sponsored initiatives at the University of Natal-Durban in Kwazulu/Natal and the University of South Africa in Gauteng.

George Euvrard, Dean of the Education Faculty.

Social Science Academy of Nigeria, *Abuja, Nigeria*

Study of the Nigerian university system and selected universities. One year, $34,700.

The *Partnership to Strengthen African Universities*—a collaboration of Carnegie Corporation of New York and the Rockefeller, Ford and John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur foundations—supports projects at African universities and academic associations designed to strengthen the quality and availability of higher education. As part of that effort, the Social Science Academy of Nigeria is coordinating a study of the Nigerian university system. The study, to be carried out by a team of researchers, with advice from a panel of university, nongovernmental and private sector representatives, is examining barriers to and prospects for revitalization in the university system in four institutions: Ahmadu Bello, Bayero, Ibadan and Port Harcourt. Findings will be shared with policymakers, university officials and interested donors.

Layi Erinosho, Executive Secretary.

University of South Africa,
Unisa, South Africa

One-time funding of the establishment of a Centre for the Improvement of Mathematics, Science and Technology Education. Forty-two months, $1,086,100.

To improve the quality of South Africa's secondary education and increase the number of students admitted to science- and mathematics-based university programs, the Faculty of Sciences at the University of South Africa is creating a series of distance-learning courses for teachers that focus on math, physics, chemistry, biology and computer science. The university is also developing coursework for masters degree and doctoral programs in education. To coordinate and assess the activities, the university is establishing the Centre for the Improvement of Mathematics, Science and Technology Education. The centre will coordinate with similar programs, particularly initiatives at the University of Natal in Kwazulu/Natal and Rhodes University in Eastern Cape.

Diane Grayson, Professor of Science Education.

South African Universities Vice Chancellors Association, *Pretoria, South Africa*

One-time funding to develop the capacity of a quality assurance system for South African universities. Two years, $129,000.

With the dismantling of apartheid, education policymakers and practitioners in South Africa have noted the need to set common standards of quality in the provision of higher education. With Corporation support, the South African Universities Vice Chancellors Association's (SAUVCA) Quality Assurance Forum is conducting a project to participate in the development of a national quality assurance system and prepare, in particular, historically disadvantaged universities to respond successfully to the system's requirements. Forum members are convening four workshops on key themes related to quality assurance, conducting research on themes highlighted in the workshops, setting up regular communication with forum members through publications, news briefs, an information database, a web site and a listserv, and arranging technical assistance for individual universities on an as-needed basis.

Piyushi Kotecha, Chief Executive Officer. www.sauvca.org.za

University of the Witwatersrand,
Johannesburg, South Africa

One-time funding to establish the University of the Witwatersrand AIDS Research Institute. Two years, $500,000.

An AIDS Research Summit is being held at the University of the Witwatersrand to plan the creation of a research institute designed to coordinate and promote AIDS research and prevention and focus on basic, clinical and behavioral sciences. The institute will convene annual meetings of academics and experts in the field to review knowledge, discuss research directions and disseminate information. A project director and a committee of scientists and university leaders will coordinate and lead the initiative, aimed at strengthening the already important participation of the university in understanding and combating HIV/AIDS in the province of Gauteng, and in South Africa, more generally. The Corporation is providing a special, one-time grant to help meet the institute's operational costs during the first two years.

James McIntyre, Co-Director of the Reproductive Health Research Unit.

Discretionary Grants

Association of African Universities,
Accra-North, Ghana

Eight-month grant of $25,000 toward a study on variants of university education provision in Africa

Association of African Universities,
Accra-North, Ghana

Nine-month grant of $25,000 toward the 10th AAU General Conference

Association of Commonwealth Universities, *London, U.K.*

Six-month grant of $25,000 toward participation by African university executives in a conference on global issues in higher education

University of Dar es Salaam, *Dar Es Salamm, Tanzania*

Five-month grant of $25,000 toward preparation of a strategic plan for achieving gender equity at the university

University of Dar es Salaam, *Dar Es Salamm, Tanzania*

Six-month grant of $25,000 for planning a scholarship program for undergraduate women

Forum for African Women Educationalists, *Nairobi, Kenya*

Six-month grant of $25,000 toward preparing a presentation on enhancing opportunities for women in higher education at the Association of African University's tenth general conference

International Institute for Educational Planning, *Paris, France*

One-year grant of $25,000 toward a study of innovations in African higher education by the Association for the Development of Education in Africa's Working Group on Higher Education

Makerere University, *Kampala, Uganda*

Three-month grant of $25,000 for planning a scholarship program for undergraduate women

Salzburg Seminar in American Studies, Inc., *Middlebury, VT*

One-year grant of $25,000 toward support of a seminar on higher education and public policy

Yale University, *New Haven, CT*

One-year grant of $25,000 toward a seminar series on International Higher Education Problems and Opportunities

International Peace and Security

Higher Education in the Former Soviet Union

American Council of Learned Societies, *New York, NY*

Fellowships in the humanities for scholars in the former Soviet Union. Three years, $1,065,000.

When societies are in crisis or undergoing transformation, educational issues often give way to pressing economic and political concerns. The humanities field in particular may be overlooked as a priority, despite its capacity to interpret and speak to situations associated with social and economic dislocation. In 1998, with Corporation support, the American Council of Learned Societies launched a program of fellowships to scholars in Belarus, Ukraine and Russia to strengthen the humanities field. The program, aimed at younger scholars, offers short-term fellowships, supports scholarly publications and fosters professional networks in such disciplines as history, languages, literature, philosophy and the arts.

Andrzej W. Tymowski, Program Officer, International Programs. www.acls.org

Bard College, *Annandale-on-Hudson, NY*

Faculty and curriculum development at Smolny College in Russia. Two years, $300,000.

Russia's reassessment of the structure of its secondary and higher education systems has led to the opening of private universities and the introduction of new departments and teaching methodologies in some state universities. A few years ago, a partnership between St. Petersburg University (SPU) in Russia and Bard College in the United States led to the creation of Smolny College, Russia's first liberal arts college at SPU. In April 2000, the college was accredited by the Russian Ministry of Higher Education, thereby gaining the authority to award Russia's first B.A. degree in liberal arts. With support from the Corporation, Bard College and SPU are establishing Smolny College's permanent faculty, curriculum development and the introduction of new resources for teaching and research.

Susan H. Gillespie, Director, Institute for International Liberal Education.

Eurasia Foundation, Inc., *Washington, DC*

Economics Education and Research Consortium. Two years, $500,000.

To foster knowledge and understanding of market-based economics, which have been identified as central to successful economic reform in the post-Soviet states, the Eurasia Foundation in 1996 established the Economics Education and Research Consortium (EERC). The international consortium, which includes fifteen donors, aims to build capacity in economics research and education in Russia and in Ukraine. The Russian program focuses on policy-oriented research, with a smaller complementary education component to strengthen nationwide economics training. By contrast, the program in Ukraine emphasizes the training of young economists at the masters degree level, with a smaller research component. Both programs are designed to enable local economists to contribute to their country's economics policymaking.

Andrea Dee Harris, Project Director. www.eurasia.org

Eurasia Foundation, Inc., *Washington, DC*

Interdisciplinary research and training centers in the Caucasus. Two years, $560,000.

In 1999, to strengthen universities, restore academic communities and foster a new generation of social scientists in Russia and the states of the former Soviet Union, the Corporation initiated a project to create Centers for Advanced Study and Education (CASEs). Building on the model developed for the CASEs, the Corporation, together with the Eurasia Foundation, is undertaking a project to establish research and training centers in Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia, countries

in the Caucasus region that are attempting to rebuild educational institutions while facing major challenges associated with economic and political transformation. The university-based, independently operated centers of excellence are to provide young professionals in the social sciences with access to publications, training programs and professional development services.

William Horton Beebe-Center, Vice President, Foundation Projects and Development. www.eurasia.org

University of Michigan, *Ann Arbor, MI*

Joint project with the European University in St. Petersburg to foster the development of the social sciences in Russia's regional universities. Two years, $400,000.

Social science disciplines as they exist in the West were not offered in the universities of the Soviet Union. After the country collapsed, in an effort to transform the curriculum, Russian universities renamed departments that focused on Marxist philosophy; thus, the department of historical materialism became the department of sociology. Today, the departments—which are characterized by low teaching standards, scant resources and isolation from other academic centers—remain weak. The University of Michigan, in a joint program with the European University in St. Petersburg (EUSP), aims to strengthen social science departments in Russia's regional universities through a variety of activities. The program will encourage graduates of EUSP to teach at regional universities, gain exposure to the social sciences of the West and develop a network of professionals within Russia and abroad.

William Zimmerman, Senior Research Scientist and Director, Center for Political Studies.

National Council for Eurasian and East European Research, *Washington, DC*

Academic fellowships for Russian scholars. Two years, $550,000.

Over the past decade, funding agencies in the United States and Europe have tried to foster relationships between universities in the post-Soviet countries and universities in the West. These linkages have largely been focused in the fields of public administration, economics, law and management training rather than in the social sciences and humanities. The National Council for Eurasian and East European Research, in cooperation with the American Councils for International Education, is establishing a new program to strengthen scholarship in the social sciences and humanities. The program offers four-month fellowships to Russian scholars to study at American universities. The fellows will be selected from the Centers for Advanced Study and Education, which are being created by the Corporation as part of its initiative on Higher Education in the former Soviet Union.

Morris E. Jacobs, Senior Program Coordinator. www.nceeer.org

U.S. Civilian Research and Development Foundation for Independent States, *Arlington, VA*

Basic Research and Higher Education Program. Two years, $1,000,000.

Science and education have deep roots of excellence in Russia and are critical to the country's economic health and transition to democracy. The Basic Research and Higher Education Program of the U.S. Civilian Research and Development Foundation for Independent States is a major initiative, backed by the U.S. and Russian governments, to boost Russian scientific research and training during the country's current economic difficulties. The program has two principal components: the establishment of Research and Education Centers at selected departments in Russian universities; and the provision of small research grants to exceptional young scientists. To date, the program has created eight centers and supported the projects of several scientists. With continued support from a consortium of funders, eight additional centers will be opened within the next two years.

John Modzelewski, Director. www.crdf.org

Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, *Washington, DC*

Creation of centers for advanced study and education in Russia. Ten months, $1,110,200.

To assist Russian universities in their struggle to rejuvenate programs, revamp the social science and humanities fields and function in a market economy, the Corporation, the Russian Ministry of Education and the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation are establishing Centers for Advanced Study and Education (CASEs) in Russia. Located at major universities and focused on cross-disciplinary themes, CASEs are designed to serve as umbrellas for advanced research, training, academic mobility and library and publication support and to provide links to the West. Three CASEs have been founded to date; this grant supports the creation of five additional CASEs. The project is coadministered by the Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars and the Moscow Public Science Foundation.

Blair A. Ruble, Director, Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies. http://wwics.si.edu/

New Dimensions of Security

University of California, *Los Angeles, CA*

Research and dissemination on the effects of globalization on self-determination. Two years, $312,000.

While it is clear that self-determination movements have been affected by forces associated with globalization, the nature and extent of that influence is not well understood. Since the complex interrelationship between such movements and globalization is likely to have important implications for peace and security in the decades ahead, efforts to better understand the intricacies of the two phenomena are a necessary step in devising effective policy responses. Working toward this goal, a multidisciplinary and multinational team of researchers is conducting both theoretical and case-specific research to explore and illuminate some of the key aspects of this emerging scholarly and practical challenge. The University of California, Los Angeles, is coordinating the project.

Richard N. Rosecrance, Professor.

University of Cambridge, *Cambridge, United Kingdom*

Project to conduct interdisciplinary, comparative case studies of power-sharing arrangements in recent self-determination disputes. Two years, $379,700.

During the past decade, a number of promising new models of power-sharing in deeply divided multiethnic societies have emerged. Unfortunately, the atmosphere of crisis surrounding the establishment of most of these models has thus far prevented a comparative analysis of their strengths, weaknesses and potential for wider application. The University of Cambridge's Centre of International Studies, together with the Lauterpacht Research Centre for International Law and the European Centre for Minority Issues, is undertaking a systematic analysis of eight novel approaches to complex power-sharing arrangements and disseminating observations and conclusions to scholars and policymakers. In addition to conducting case studies and making site visits to the regions, project members are convening workshops to consult international scholars and policy experts.

Marc Weller, Assistant Director of Studies, Centre of International Studies.

Fund for Peace Inc., *Washington, DC*

Project to examine the feasibility of regional military responses to self-determination disputes from a comparative perspective. Thirty months, $440,100.

In light of the mixed record of recent military interventions by the international community in self-determination disputes, a number of regional organizations or coalitions have begun to take the lead in intervening in regions of conflict. To explore the effectiveness of this emerging approach as well as the evolution of international intervention, the Fund for Peace is

organizing a series of conferences for policymakers and experts from across the world to foster analysis and dialogue and to develop policy options. In addition to preparing policy briefs and several papers, the fund is publishing a summary report every six months and a longer, final report at the conclusion of the project.

Pauline H. Baker, President, Fund for Peace, 1701 K Street, NW, 20006. (202) 223-7940. www.fundforpeace.org

Harvard University, *Cambridge, MA*

Project to promote dialogue between the military and human rights communities about the means of external intervention in self-determination disputes. Two years, $334,700.

To promote strategies of international intervention on behalf of groups pursuing the right to self-determination that can minimize the disruption and, in certain instances, the destruction of societies where interventions are carried out, Harvard University's Carr Center for Human Rights Policy is organizing a series of workshops focused on operational issues. The goal of the workshops, which bring together military planners and operators (both U.S. and foreign), lawyers, human rights activists and analysts and other scholarly and governmental foreign and security policy experts, is to bridge the gap between military and humanitarian aid and human rights communities involved in the development of international intervention strategies. The center is commissioning working papers to inform the discussions and holding a final policy conference to disseminate and discuss results.

Sarah Sewall, Program Director, Carr Center for Human Rights Policy. www.ksg.harvard.edu/bcsia

International Institute for Strategic Studies, *London, United Kingdom*

Policy-relevant research on external intervention in self-determination disputes. Three years, $275,000.

From Kosovo to East Timor and Rwanda to Haiti, the international community has been increasingly willing to cross the borders of sovereign states to force the removal of recalcitrant leaders and address pressing humanitarian and human rights concerns. Although international borders have long been permeable, the conventional norm against external intervention in the domestic affairs of nations has clearly undergone a transition since the end of the Cold War. To examine this transition and its accompanying trends, the International Institute for Strategic Studies is conducting a multipart study focused on three central aspects of external intervention: international administration of war-torn societies, the use of force in support of humanitarian operations and cease-fires and conflict resolution in self-determination disputes.

Mats R. Berdal, Director of Studies. www.iiss.org

International Peace Academy, Inc., *New York, NY*

Research and dissemination on the United Nations' involvement with transitional governments and its impact on the evolution of self-determination. Twenty-one months, $271,000.

To the many responsibilities of the UN has been added the task of transitional administration of war-torn societies. Most recently, in East Timor and Kosovo, the UN has assumed a range of political, administrative and economic functions that have severely strained its material and managerial resources. Beyond immediate ramifications, UN actions in such situations also affect the ways in which the norms of self-determination and state sovereignty are being transformed. The International Peace Academy is conducting a project to explore the UN's role in implementing transitional administrations and to assess the impact of this role on the evolution of self-determination strategies and goals. Academy staff members are conducting field research and producing a series of analytical reports summarizing recommendations and outlining policy responses.

Simon Chesterman, Senior Associate. www.ipacademy.org

Oregon State University, *Corvallis, OR*

Joint project with the Pacific Institute for Studies in Development, Environment and Security on preventing water conflicts. Twenty-one months, $389,600.

As the earth's population grows and the pace of industrialization and modernization accelerate, more pressure is put on the world's supply of fresh water. Although no wars have been fought strictly over water, contending claims to shared water supplies have contributed to tensions in many regions. Two leading centers of analysis on water issues, Oregon State University and the Pacific Institute for Studies in Development, Environment and Security, are undertaking a collaborative project to better understand and ultimately reduce the risks of water-related conflicts in international watersheds. The project has three phases: to identify specific basins at high risk for water-related conflict; to coordinate workshops comprising members of the water and security community and representatives from high-risk basins; and to make the data and results of the project available online and in print.

Aaron T. Wolf, Assistant Professor, Department of Geosciences.

Public International Law and Policy Group, *Arlington, VA*

Project to evaluate the suitability of the concept of intermediate sovereignty as a means of resolving self-determination disputes. Two years, $338,000.

One of the most challenging aspects of contemporary self-determination claims is the ambiguous or inconsistent state of sovereignty some entities are left in as a result of agreed upon or imposed political settlements resulting from situations of violent conflict and ad hoc peacemaking efforts. Such arrangements, termed by some legal scholars as intermediate sovereignty, imply a transitional, middle-range solution that, though promising in its potential to ensure a transition to full sovereignty, indicate that a more permanent outcome may be required. To examine the merits of intermediate sovereignty and explore its policy implications, the Public International Law and Policy Group is conducting a multidisciplinary project that includes a series of roundtable meetings, legislative outreach and the preparation and distribution of monographs.

Paul R. Williams, Managing Director and Treasurer.

Research Foundation of State University of New York, *Binghamton, NY*

Policy-relevant research on external intervention in self-determination disputes. Two years, $260,200.

Researchers at the Institute of Global Cultural Studies and the Fernand Braudel Center of the State University of New York at Binghamton are studying the relationship between intrastate conflict in African countries and contemporary understandings in Africa of national borders. The goal of the project is to determine the extent to which national borders—largely established under colonial rule without regard to ethnic or tribal allegiances and differences—have become coherent national identities and the extent to which other forces, such as cross-border military intervention and external economic and political pressure, may inflect the challenges African countries now face. Members of the project are conducting field research and comparative analysis and preparing a report to be distributed to policymakers and scholars in Africa and North America.

Ricardo R. Laremont, Associate Director, Institute of Global Cultural Studies, State University of New York, Binghamton.

University of Waterloo, *Ontario, Canada*

Research and dissemination of globalization's role in the peaceful management of self-determination disputes. Three years, $177,700.

The transformation of the state under the impact of globalization and the rise of new transnational regimes has fundamentally changed the concept of state sovereignty, giving rise to a post-sovereign political order. Under this new order, statehood has become increasingly disassociated from nationality, and rights from citizenship. To explore the far-reaching implications of this situation, a team of researchers at the University of Waterloo are conducting a research project focused

on a set of case studies in Europe, where the transformation of state sovereignty has been more extensive. Members of the project are assessing the potential of changes associated with globalization to facilitate the accommodation of ethnic minority groups in ways that fall short of independent statehood.

John F. McGarry, Professor, Department of Political Science.

Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, *Washington, DC*

Program on conflict prevention. Three years, $460,100.

From its inception in 1994 to its formal closure in 1999, the Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict (CCPDC) sponsored research by leading scholars and policymakers on an array of prevention issues—including efforts to identify the causes of and avert the outbreak of violent conflict. To build on this work and help ensure the infusion of prevention practices into policymaking in the United States and elsewhere, the Washington, D.C.-based Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars is coordinating a multipronged research and dissemination project focused on examining several contemporary prevention challenges and opportunities.

Anita Sharma, Project Coordinator, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, One Woodrow Wilson Plaza, 6-21, 1300 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, 20004-3027. (202) 691-4083. http://wwics.si.edu/

Yale University, *New Haven, CT*

Project to explore the nature and scale of threats to self-determination posed by globalization. Three years, $445,500.

The forces associated with globalization have posed new challenges for state sovereignty. The international integration of markets for goods, services and capital, for instance, has reduced state control over many areas traditionally within the state purview. In addition, the increasing permeability of state borders has allowed groups engaging in self-determination movements to mobilize resources outside the state, reducing the control and authority of state actors. Yale University is bringing together a multidisciplinary and multinational team of scholars to examine the implications of globalization for state sovereignty. The project, to include case studies and quantitative analysis, will result in a series of articles and monographs.

Gustav Ranis, Henry R. Luce Director, Yale Center for International and Area Studies.

Russia and Other Post-Soviet States

American International Health Alliance, Inc., *Washington, DC*

Study of social cohesion in Russia. Eighteen months, $249,500.

Russia's transition to a new economic and political model in the wake of Communism—which has seen the emergence of mass poverty, an upsurge in infectious diseases and drastically declining population and escalating mortality rates—has ushered in a period of social stress. The concatenation of social crises has implications for Russia's economic, political and social stability, and has been the subject of a study by a group of Russian, American and European experts as part of the Corporation's Russia Initiative. The next phase of the project builds on the data assembled in the first phase, and will suggest policy approaches, both in Russia and internationally, that may help to ameliorate Russia's societal stresses. American International Health Alliance is administering the project.

Kate Schecter, Program Officer, American International Health Alliance. www.aiha.com

Aspen Institute, Inc., *Washington, DC*

Discussion between U.S. and Russian policymakers conducted by the Aspen Strategy Group. Fifteen months, $360,000.

Aspen Strategy Group, a standing committee of the Aspen Institute, provides an unofficial channel for communication between U.S. and Russian leaders and

policy analysts through its U.S.-Russian Dialogue project. Members of the project meet biannually in Moscow and Washington, D.C., to generate joint proposals and initiatives that address critical geopolitical, security and economic issues. The dialogues, essential to international security relations, are followed by post-session reports and briefings to government officials in both countries. The Council on Foreign and Defense Policy in Moscow coadministers the project.

Mary McKinley, Associate Director. www.aspeninst.org

Aspen Institute, Inc., *Washington, DC*

International activities of the Congressional Program. One year, $482,000.

Although systemic problems persist in the relationship between the United States and Russia, both countries have a new president in office, offering the prospect of a new start. Many members of Congress, however, have little enthusiasm for foreign affairs and tend to suffer from what has been called "Russia fatigue." Begun in 1984 by former senator Dick Clark, the Aspen Institute's Congressional Program aims to improve congressional understanding of, and engagement with, Russia. It convenes bipartisan discussions, bringing together policymakers from the House and Senate and academic specialists in a major annual conference and holding regular breakfast meetings on Capitol Hill to address a range of issues germane to U.S.-Russia relations.

Dick Clark, Director, Congressional Program. www.aspeninst.org

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, *Washington, DC*

Carnegie Moscow Center. Two years, $900,000.

To support Russia's economic recovery and the strengthening of its national identity—without dictating the paths of its reform—the Carnegie Moscow Center, established in 1993 by the Washington, D.C.-based Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, is conducting projects to make Western experiences of the formation and operation of an independent sector available to Russian policymakers, with a particular emphasis on the functioning of nongovernmental organizations that provide objective analysis on domestic and foreign policy matters. The center combines policy research with educational outreach to journalists, members of Russia's policymaking community and representatives of other institutions in Russia and abroad.

Andrew Kuchins, Director of the Russian and Eurasian Program. www.ceip.org

Columbia University, *New York, NY*

Research and writing on Russian foreign policy. Two years, $94,300.

Because Russia is undergoing several profound challenges simultaneously—transforming from an authoritarian regime to some form of democratic governance; moving to a market economy; regaining a sense of national and international identity—predicting the future of its foreign policy poses a daunting challenge. A group of eight scholars, under the leadership of Robert Legvold of Columbia University and Lawrence T. Caldwell of Occidental College, are undertaking a book project that seeks to place Russia's contemporary foreign policy in an historical context. The project, entitled Twenty-First Century Russian Foreign Policy and the Shadow of the Past, takes into account the longer term evolution of Russian foreign policy, seeking to identify that which is enduring in Russian policy developments, when and why new strategies emerge and how eras of great internal change shape both internal and external approaches.

Robert Legvold, Professor of Political Science.

Conflict Management Group, *Cambridge, MA*

Project on strengthening human capital in the former Soviet Union. Two years, $500,000.

None of the independent states of the former Soviet Union have met expectations in regard to a successful transition to democracy and a market economy. While there have been many constraints on the potential for transition in each of these states, some of the fault lies in the insufficient formulation and implementation of

policies that could support the new order. To help young decisionmakers from the region gain the leadership skills necessary to achieve foundational change, the Conflict Management Group has established a training program that offers assistance in building skills, knowledge, contacts and models for effective governance. The program entails a series of workshops in the United States, followed by activities in the region.

Arthur Martirosyan, Director. www.cmgroup.org

Council on Foreign Relations, *New York, NY*

Program on new approaches to Russian security. Two years, $680,000.

Understanding Russia—including its foreign policy, security concerns and economic and societal situation—remains crucial to policymaking in the West. Interest in the study of Russia, however, is declining, and American scholars are faced with fewer opportunities to bring their expertise to bear on policymaking toward Russia. The Program on New Approaches to Russian Security (PONARS), housed at the Council on Foreign Relations, was created in 1997 to promote multidisciplinary scholarship on Russia that would be made available to government officials. PONARS brings together younger American and Russian social scientists in a network developed to cross-fertilize their research, advance their professional development and strengthen their links to the policy communities in the United States and in Russia. In addition, PONARS conducts annual academic and policy-oriented conferences and produces publications.

Celeste A. Wallander, Executive Director, Program on New Approaches to Russian Security. www.cfr.org

Emory University, *Atlanta, GA*

Joint project with the Institute of Law and Public Policy in Moscow for research and dissemination on the role and influence of Russia's Federation Council. Two years, $200,300.

Critical to the consolidation of democracy in Russia is the success of two constitutional principles new to the country: separation of powers and working federalism. The future of both principles is in part being determined by President Vladimir Putin's political and economic reforms, which have already influenced the processes of Russia's Federation Council—the upper chamber of the Russian parliament. To answer fundamental questions about the role and influence of the Federation Council, the influence of its committees and its relations with other governmental agencies, a team of Russian and American researchers is undertaking a study of the Federation Council. The project will result in a web site, a series of papers and an edited volume.

Thomas F. Remington, C.L. Halle Professor.

Financial Services Volunteer Corps, Inc., *New York, NY*

Research and dissemination on the international integration of Russia's security, economic and banking institutions. Two years, $301,400.

Integration into international security, trade and financial institutions is central to Russia's ability to achieve sustainable growth. Such integration, however, depends on the country's economic development and the attainment on the part of its decisionmakers and general population of a sense of overall security. These are the findings of a study group, part of the Corporation's Russia Initiative, that examined the interplay among Russia's security, economic and banking sectors. In the second phase of the project, the group is exploring the impact of globalization on the development of Russia's internal policies. Members of the project will produce reports on three themes: globalization and the reform processes in Russia; the interaction among Russia's economic, banking/financial and security sectors; and the dynamics of globalization and reform as they affect Russia. The Financial Services Volunteer Corps provides administrative and financial oversight.

J. Andrew Spindler, Executive Director. www.fsvc.org

George Washington University, *Washington, DC*

Joint study with the EastWest Institute on state building in Russia. Two years, $185,000.

One of the first priorities of Vladimir V. Putin as president of Russia was to address the cumbersome architecture of Russia's federal structure. Faced with a federation consisting of 89 regions, Putin moved to create seven megadistricts, each overseen by an appointed presidential representative. In light of Putin's reforms and as part of the Corporation's Russia Initiative, an international, multidisciplinary team of experts conducted a study of state building in Russia, taking into account scenarios that range from reimposition of central rule to the breakup of the federal structure. In the next phase of the project, to be administered by The George Washington University, team members are extrapolating from the data collected to analyze how federal reforms are playing out in each of the megadistricts and how they affect center-regional relations.

Peter Reddaway, Professor of Political Science, Elliott School of International Affairs.

International Institute for Strategic Studies, *London, United Kingdom*

International security forums for Russian regions. Two years, $400,000.

Although Russia has undergone political, economic and social transformation in the last ten years, its national security policy continues to be elaborated and carried out in isolation from the major changes in Russian society. To broaden the definition of the security problems facing Russia and foster cooperation between Russia, its neighboring states and international organizations, the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS) is launching a new initiative to bring together Moscow officials, international participants and representatives of Russia's regional districts, business community, academic institutions and the media. The project will be carried out in cooperation with Russian partners and will result in a report on the regional perspectives on Russia's foreign and security policy priorities.

Oksana Antonenko, Research Fellow. www.iiss.org

International Research and Exchanges Board, Inc., *Washington, DC*

One-time funding of a conference on Russia in the information age. One year, $75,000.

The Internet, with its influence on business interactions and the circulation of information, has the potential to bolster Russia's transformation to democracy and a market economy. Yet, like other countries, Russia is concerned about the impact of the Internet on security, commerce and copyright law. The International Research and Exchanges Board (IREX), one of the oldest organizations involved in U.S.-Russian relations, is holding a conference entitled "Russia in the Information Age: Balancing Regulation and Freedom." Organized in partnership with Russian organizations, the two-day conference brings together an international group of policy officials and representatives from business, academia and the media to assess Russian policy developments regarding information and the Internet. A final report with policy recommendations will be produced.

Mark G. Pomar, President. www.irex.org

Moscow School of Political Studies, *Moscow, Russia*

Project to strengthen democratic institutions and civil society in Russia. Two years, $230,000.

The Moscow School of Political Studies was created in 1992 to promote the development of democratic institutions, human rights and civil society in Russia. Operating under the premise that Russia's nascent democracy can best be strengthened from within, the school organizes seminars for young Russian and former Soviet leaders on national and regional development, with a broad range of Western and Russian experts serving as visiting faculty. The school also translates and publishes books authored by international scholars on politics, economics and social policy, and produces journals in Russian and in English on contemporary Russian issues. The school's trainees are drawn from regional government communities, the media and the private sector. With support from the Corporation, the school is continuing its publications, seminar and outreach activities.

Elena Nemirovskaya, Founder and Director. www.msps.ru.

Richard Nixon Library & Birthplace Foundation, *Yorba Linda, CA*

U.S.-Russian dialogue on international security. One year, $250,000.

The new administrations in Washington, D.C., and Moscow are moving toward redefining the bilateral relationship between the United States and Russia. Recent statements from the Bush administration with respect to Russia and President Putin's assertive foreign policy overtures suggest that the relationship will be difficult, at best, though neither the United States nor Russia has articulated a clear vision of what it should entail. The Nixon Center, established as a division of the Richard Nixon Library & Birthplace Foundation to analyze and address the challenges and opportunities of the post-Cold War era, is initiating a forum on the most pressing issues to be addressed by the countries. Participants in the informal, bilateral dialogues will include U.S. and Russian academics, business leaders and former policymakers.

Dimitri K. Simes, President. www.nixoncenter.org

Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute, *Hyde Park, NY*

Research and dissemination on the implications of Franklin D. Roosevelt's "New Deal" policies for contemporary Russia. Eighteen months, $150,000.

Because the social and economic problems of contemporary Russia, including a high unemployment rate and the collapse of the banking system, are similar to those that Franklin D. Roosevelt confronted when he assumed presidential office in 1933, the Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute has undertaken a project, together with Russian experts, to explore the extent to which some of the ideas of the New Deal might be applicable in addressing Russia's domestic challenges. The project focuses on two specific areas—unemployment relief through public works and the reform of the banking sector—and entails U.S.-Russian working groups and locally based pilot projects to test the practicality and effectiveness of the ideas discussed in the groups.

David B. Woolner, Executive Director. www.feri.org

Rutgers University, *New Brunswick, NJ*

Research and dissemination on the problems, prospects and policies relating to Russia's integration into Europe. Two years, $399,400.

A study group on the relationship between political democratization and economic reform in Russia, undertaken as part of the Corporation's Russia Initiative, concluded that Russia's successful integration into Europe, and specifically into European institutions, could guarantee Russia's transition to democracy and the market economy. Achieving integration, however, requires confronting many internal developments within Russia and Europe. Building on prior work, members of the study group are now examining obstacles to Russia's integration into Europe. Seeking to propose policy recommendations, the group is focusing on economic, political/legal, security and cultural issues. The project will result in a book and final summary to be distributed to policymakers in the United States, Europe and Russia. Rutgers University provides financial oversight.

Alexander J. Motyl, Deputy Director, Center for Global Change and Governance.

Weapons of Mass Destruction

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, *Washington, DC*

Project on nonproliferation. Two years, $500,000.

The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace's Non-Proliferation Project promotes increased communication and interaction among nonproliferation specialists and greater public awareness of security issues related to weapons of mass destruction. The project, which supports the nonproliferation regime as the best option for reducing the threat of weapons of mass destruction, provides information and analysis to policy officials, experts in the field and members of the press about related political and regional developments. In addition to conducting its own research, the project undertakes public education activities and convenes an annual international conference that brings

together representatives of government, academia and nongovernmental organizations. The 2001 conference addressed nonproliferation policies for a new presidential administration.

Joseph Cirincione, Director, Non-Proliferation Project. www.ceip.org

Center for Defense Information, Inc., *Washington, DC*

Organization's institutional and program development. Two years, $500,000.

Since 1972 the Center for Defense Information, a nongovernmental organization, has been an independent monitor of U.S. military, defense and security policy, military spending, and weapons systems. The reduction of U.S. and Russian arsenals and the aversion of accidental or planned nuclear war are issues that have been on the center's agenda, though not centerpieces of its work. Under the leadership of a new president, the center is expanding its research and reorienting its substantive focus to include relations between the United States and Russia and nuclear tensions in East and South Asia. To accommodate its strategic reorientation, the center is designing and instituting a plan for institutional development.

Bruce G. Blair, President. www.cdi.org

Center for Media and Security, Ltd., *Millwood, NY*

Forums for journalists on defense and international security issues. Two years, $102,200.

The Center for Media and Security aims to educate and inform the public and academic and nongovernmental communities about security and defense issues, including nonproliferation of weapons of mass destruction. The center coordinates three media outreach forums for journalists, the most well-known of which is the Defense Writers Group, a morning breakfast series for the nation's leading national security reporters. It also hosts an informal luncheon discussion series and a fellowship program. Additionally, in response to changes in the international security climate, the center convenes conferences and seminars and conducts media tours.

Harry J. Disch, President.

Center for Strategic and International Studies, Inc., *Washington, DC*

Joint project with the College of William and Mary for research and dissemination on motives for nuclear weapons acquisition. Two years, $350,000.

The focus of U.S. policymaking largely remains on potential new sites of proliferation, rather than on countries that have abandoned nuclear ambitions in favor of a nonnuclear stance. Over the next two years, researchers from the Center for Strategic and International Studies and the College of William & Mary are undertaking a project to examine the pressures countries face to build nuclear arsenals in relation to the circumstances that have encouraged some countries to remain in the nonnuclear category. Together with their research, a series of working group and planning meetings will provide the analytical framework for a final report, to be distributed to foreign affairs and U.S. governmental communities, policymakers and the media.

Kurt M. Campbell, Senior Vice President and Director of the International Security Program. www.csis.org

Council for a Livable World Education Fund, *Washington, DC*

Research and writing on nonproliferation issues in South and East Asia. Two years, $250,000.

The emergence of a nuclear arms race in South and East Asia has fundamentally altered proliferation issues internationally. As part of its nonproliferation program, the Council for a Livable World Education Fund is launching a research and education initiative to strengthen analysis of nuclear developments in the region among U.S. policymakers. Over two years, the fund is studying the status of the nuclear weapons programs and options for nonproliferation policies

in India, Pakistan, China and North Korea. Staff members are preparing reports and briefings on the research for dissemination to members of Congress, academic institutions and the media.

John Isaacs, President. www.clw.org

Georgetown University, *Washington, DC*

Symposia in international affairs. Three years, $225,000.

Women in International Security (WIIS), formerly housed in the Center for International and Security Studies and based in the School of Public Affairs at the University of Maryland, College Park, is a membership organization that aims to enhance opportunities for women working in foreign and defense policy and to educate the public about the roles and contributions women are making in the international security community. Now based at Georgetown University, WIIS sponsors a symposium each summer for selected doctoral students in the field. The students meet with policymakers, senior academics and experts and governmental representatives through a series of panels, discussions, mentoring exercises and skills-building activities. Symposia are designed to encourage young scholars, many of whom are women, to pursue careers in foreign and defense policy.

Peggy Knudson, Executive Director, Women in International Security. www.wiis.org

University of Georgia Research Foundation, Inc., *Athens, GA*

Policy research seeking new solutions for controlling proliferation trade. Two years, $400,000.

Nonproliferation export controls—the policies and procedures adopted by states to regulate and monitor the trade of sensitive weapons-related technology and materials—are a critical component of international nonproliferation efforts. The Center for International Trade and Security at the University of Georgia, which assesses the ability of governments to control the sale of weapons and related materials and technology, is conducting research aimed at developing new strategies for international nonproliferation efforts in an era of economic globalization and increased international technology trade. Researchers at the center will continue to evaluate current export control regimes and export control practices in major supplier states.

Gary K. Bertsch, Director, Center for International Trade and Security, University of Georgia.

Harvard University, *Cambridge, MA*

Fellowships at the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs on international security. Two years, $500,000.

Since the end of the Cold War, long-standing international security concerns, such as nuclear weapons proliferation, have combined with new challenges, such as global criminal and terrorist networks, to further complicate an already complicated set of security issues. To help address existing and nascent threats on the emerging security agenda and to educate a new cadre of security scholars and policy experts, the International Security Program at Harvard University's Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs directs a highly competitive fellowship program, funding scholars from Harvard and other universities to conduct research on security issues and prepare articles and other publications for dissemination to policymakers, scholars and members of the press.

Steven M. Miller, Director, International Security Program, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, John F. Kennedy School of Government.

Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, Inc., *Cambridge, MA*

Research and dialogue on weapons of mass destruction on the Korean peninsula. Three years, $476,000.

Through a series of bilateral, trilateral and multilateral workshops to take place over the next three years, the Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis is fostering dialogue between policymakers in Washington, D.C., Seoul and Northeast Asia on the reunification of Korea and the attendant disposition of weapons of mass destruction that pose a significant security challenge in the region and internationally. Institute staff members are also conducting field research in South Korea and

Japan and preparing workshop reports on the project. Final products will include monographs distributed to U.S. and international policymaking communities.

Charles M. Perry, Vice President and Director of Studies. www.ifpa.org

Massachusetts Institute of Technology, *Cambridge, MA*

Security Studies Program. Two years, $900,000.

The Security Studies Program (SSP) at Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), located in MIT's Center for International Studies, conducts public education, policy analysis and graduate student training in the field of international security. The program is interdisciplinary—with faculty expertise ranging from political to scientific to military affairs—as well as international, bringing scientists and scholars from China, Russia, South Asia, Japan and Israel each year to collaborate with their American counterparts. An independent voice on defense, arms control and foreign policy issues, the program also prepares some forty graduate students per year for careers in government, academia, industry, the military and public interest organizations.

Harvey M. Sapolsky, Director, Security Studies Program.

Monterey Institute of International Studies, *Monterey, CA*

Research and education on the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction in the former Soviet Union. Two years, $400,000.

The Newly Independent States Nonproliferation Project, established by the Center for Nonproliferation Studies at the Monterey Institute of International Studies, conducts research on weapons of mass destruction, provides training for policymakers, scholars and military personnel, and offers technical assistance to nonproliferation organizations in the region of the former Soviet Union. The center has pioneered the training of nonproliferation specialists, using a visiting fellows training program and community-building, research and information dissemination programs as essential tools. The program is undertaking initiatives on nuclear regionalism, missile proliferation, the nuclear smuggling threat and nuclear submarine dismantlement.

William C. Potter, Director, Center for Nonproliferation Studies. www.cns.miis.edu

Nautilus of America Inc., *Berkeley, CA*

Project on South Asia nuclear policy futures. Three years, $385,000.

In the long term, the relationship between India and Pakistan comprises broad regional and global issues, including the implications of the India-China relationship and the development of ballistic missile programs in South Asia that impact both China and North Korea. To address a wide range of these issues, Nautilus of America is bringing together South and East Asian specialists in collaboration with researchers to consider potential regional security scenarios and outcomes and assess policy implications. The project will result in the publication and dissemination of a comprehensive book-length monograph.

Wade Huntley, Director, Global Peace and Security Program. www.nautilus.org

Stanford University, *Stanford, CA*

Research and training in international security. Two years, $1,890,000.

Today's international security issues comprise complex challenges that require the creative thinking of individuals with diverse backgrounds and expertise. Since its establishment in 1983, the Center for International Security and Cooperation (CISAC) at Stanford University has been among the chief university-based centers engaged in multidisciplinary research, training and dissemination that contributes to important national and international policy debates. The hallmark of CISAC is the collegial collaboration of scientists and engineers with social scientists, policymakers, area specialists and business leaders on vexing problems of international security. In addition to conducting research, hosting fellows and training specialists, the center produces op-ed pieces, articles and books.

Scott D. Sagan, Codirector, Center for International Security and Cooperation.

Other

International Development Research Centre, *Ontario, Canada*

Research on norms and protocols of intervention and self-determination for an international commission on intervention and state sovereignty. One year, $500,000.

In September 2000 the government of Canada announced at the United Nations Millennium Assembly the establishment of an independent International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty. The mandate of the commission is to stimulate debate on issues concerning external intervention in disputes within a sovereign state. Its goal is to contribute to a deeper understanding of these issues, and to foster a global political consensus on when intervention is justifiable. The commission of policymakers and experts is completing its work, following the Millennium Assembly, and is to report its findings and recommendations to the international community at the 2001 assembly.

Jill Sinclair, Director, Canadian Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade.

Project on Ethnic Relations, Inc., *Princeton, NJ*

Support. Two years, $1,000,000.

Project on Ethnic Relations (PER) aims to encourage the peaceful resolution of ethnic conflict between minority and ruling majority populations in Central and Eastern Europe, the Balkans and the former Soviet Union. Its members organize consultations for political leaders from the regions and convene informal round-table discussions at which representatives of disparate and antagonistic groups in the region come together to develop concrete steps for implementing policy changes that promote interethnic comity and regional peace and stability. PER also conducts programs of training, education and research at international, national and community levels.

Allen H. Kassof, President. www.per-usa.org

Discretionary Grants

American Association for the Advancement of Science, *Washington, DC*

One-year grant of $25,000 toward developing alternative career options for Russian scientists in the closed nuclear cities

American Council of Learned Societies, *New York, NY*

Thirteen-month grant of $25,000 toward an organizational meeting to begin a multiyear collaborative research network on national identities and political borders

American Library Association, *Chicago, IL*

One-month grant of $25,000 for a workshop to strengthen library associations in the South Caucasus

American Society of International Law, *Washington, DC*

One-year grant of $24,700 toward a project on effective humanitarian intervention

Boston University, *Boston, MA*

Nine-month grant of $25,000 toward an international conference on education in the twenty-first century

Brookings Institution, *Washington, DC*

One-year grant of $20,000 for research on the U.S.-North Korea Agreed Framework

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, *Washington, DC*

One-year grant of $25,000 toward a conference on nonproliferation and arms control

Council on Foreign Relations, Inc., *New York, NY*

Ten-month grant of $25,000 for a roundtable series on Russian nationalism

Georgia Tech Foundation Inc., *Atlanta, GA*

Six-month grant of $25,000 toward a meeting on security issues in Northeast Asia

University of Georgia, *Athens, GA*

One-year grant of $25,000 toward a project on export control awareness for members of the Russian Duma

International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (The World Conservation Union), *Washington, DC*

Three-month grant of $25,000 toward a forum to consider strategies to promote the widespread implementation of the recommendations of the World Commission on Dams

College at New Paltz Foundation, Inc., *New Paltz, NY*

Four-month grant of $25,000 for a concluding seminar of the Independent International Commission on Kosovo

New School University, *New York, NY*

One-year grant of $25,000 for a seminar series on the impact of cultural factors on Russia's transition

Richard Nixon Library and Birthplace Foundation, *Yorba Linda, CA*

Three-month grant of $25,000 for U.S.-Russian dialogue on international security

Queens College of the City University of New York, *Flushing, NY*

One-year grant of $14,000 toward a meeting on South Africa's nuclear weapons program

Pennsylvania State University, *University Park, PA*

One-year grant of $25,000 toward strengthening the linkages between Russian academia and the private sector

Santa Clara University, *Santa Clara, CA*

Three month grant of $25,000 toward a conference on secession and international law

Seton Hall University, *South Orange, NJ*

One-year grant of $25,000 toward a joint project with the United Nations Association of the United States of America to convene an international group of experts to discuss identity, diversity and intergroup relations

Southern Methodist University, *Dallas, TX*

One-year grant of $20,500 for a conference entitled "Politics and Scholarship-Knowledge and Power, 1880-1922"

Henry L. Stimson Center, *Washington, DC*

One-year grant of $25,000 toward the Security for a New Century project

Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, *Washington, DC*

Four month grant of $25,000 for preparatory work for a project on conflict prevention

Wilton Park, *West Sussex, United Kingdom*

Three month grant of $25,000 toward a conference on missile defense, deterrence and arms control

World Affairs Council of Northern California, *San Francisco, CA*

Five-month grant of $25,000 toward a conference on globalization in the 21st century

Strengthening U.S. Democracy

Addressing Attitudinal Barriers to Civic Participation

Alliance for Justice Inc., *Washington, DC*

Training and mobilizing youth to become civically engaged. Fifteen months, $200,000.

The Alliance for Justice is a national association of environmental, civil rights, mental health, women's, children's and consumer advocacy organizations that, since 1979, has worked to strengthen the public interest community's ability to advocate on behalf of public policy issues. Through its Co/Motion program, the alliance engages young people in civic activism by providing the training and resources they need to organize and develop action plans on issues that affect them. This grant supports Co/Motion's Gun Violence Initiative, which helps gun violence prevention organizations form sustainable partnerships—focused on encouraging civic engagement among young people—with youth-serving organizations.

Nan Aron, President. www.afj.org

Public Agenda Foundation, Inc., *New York, NY*

Public opinion research and dissemination on immigrant attitudes toward civic participation. Fifteen months, $378,300.

According to the 2000 census, more than 10 percent of the U.S. population is foreign born, and one-in-five children have at least one immigrant parent. To assess the attitudes of immigrants toward civic participation in the United States, the Public Agenda Foundation, a nonpartisan research and public education organization, is undertaking a study that seeks to gain better insight into immigrants' views on and understanding of a variety of civic issues, including the rights and responsibilities of U.S. citizenship and voting. Public Agenda plans to explore these and other issues through focus group research and through a national telephone survey. Staff members will analyze the responses and disseminate the findings to the broadest possible audience.

Deborah Wadsworth, President. www.publicagenda.org

Removing Structural Barriers to Civic/Electoral Participation

Advancement Project, *Washington, DC*

Production and dissemination of policy reports on structural obstacles to electoral participation in low-income and minority communities. One year, $100,000.

The November 2000 election revealed flaws in U.S. democratic processes beyond antiquated voting equipment and poorly designed ballots; mechanisms and systems that limit democratic participation among members of minority, low-income and immigrant communities also emerged. To increase the number of voters who participate and the number of votes counted, the Advancement Project, a leading national policy and legal organization, is undertaking an in-depth research and policy analysis project to identify and document the structural obstacles to electoral participation among low-income, minority and immigrant communities. Results will include a series of policy reports that synthesize the research and offer recommendations for reform. The reports will be widely disseminated to journalists, policymakers, academics, election officials and civic leaders.

Penda D. Hair, Co-Director. www.advanceproj.org

Colby College, *Waterville, ME*

Study of the effects of highly competitive congressional races on voter engagement. Thirty months, $250,000.

L. Sandy Maisel, William R. Kenan, Jr., Professor of Government at Colby College, Walter Stone, Professor of Political Science at the University of Colorado, and Cherie Maestas, Assistant Professor of Political Science at Texas Tech University, are undertaking a project to analyze the connections between the emergence of high-quality candidates for the U.S. House of Representatives and the quality of citizen engagement in congressional elections. The researchers are examining the processes that may create competition between candidates in House elections to determine its effects on the range and quality of candidate emergence and the level of citizen engagement in various districts. The project expands on Maisel's and Stone's Candidate Emergence Study, launched in 1997. During 2001-2003, researchers will analyze the 2002 election cycle, comparing competitive and non-competitive districts.

L. Sandy Maisel, William R. Kenan, Jr., Professor of Government, Department of Government.

Common Cause Education Fund, *Washington, DC*

Support. Two years, $300,000.

Founded in 1970, Common Cause is a citizens' lobbying organization with a grassroots corps of approximately 200,000 members across the country and a presence in forty states that provides a voice for the public on campaign finance reform, election processes, citizen participation and open government. In 2000, it established Common Cause Education Fund—a charity to serve as its education and research arm—which aims to identify mechanisms and activities to reinvigorate the public's interest in civic affairs, including voting. Among the fund's initial goals are coalition building and organizing; research, policy analyses and dissemination; and public forums to be held throughout the country.

Scott Harshbarger, President and CEO.
www.commoncause.org

Democracy 21 Education Fund, *Washington, DC*

Support. Two years, $150,000.

Democracy 21 Education Fund aims to provide nonpartisan information on "soft money" contributions—unregulated political funds raised from corporations, unions and individuals—and on the ways in which soft money affects the democratic process. The fund's outreach activities include a media campaign that targets journalists and radio news producers, locally and nationally, through op-ed articles, editorials, press releases and background papers. In addition, the fund conducts public education activities, distributing reports on the impact of soft money on presidential and congressional actions and preparing a primer on the history of soft money.

Fred Wertheimer, President.

Investigative Reporters and Editors, Inc., *Columbia, MO*

Training state and local news media on campaign financing issues. Two years, $250,000.

Investigative Reporters and Editors (IRE), which has aimed to enhance the skills of journalists since 1975, established the Campaign Finance Information Center in 1997 to provide both print and broadcast journalists with research and analysis on the relationship between campaign contributions and politics. To assist journalists' coverage of this issue, the center launched a web site, located at www.campaignfinance.org, which allows reporters to track the flow of money at the state and federal level and its influence on public policy. Corporation funds are being used to improve the web site and support annual training workshops for state and local news editors and reporters on using online and electronic campaign-financing data.

Brant Houston, Executive Director. www.ire.org

Massachusetts Institute of Technology, *Cambridge, MA*

Joint project with the California Institute of Technology to plan the development of new voting technologies and systems. Six months, $253,000.

The Corporation is supporting the planning phase of a secure, efficient and affordable uniform voting system. Charles M. Vest, president of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), and David Baltimore, president of the California Institute of Technology (Caltech), are bringing together a team of political scientists, engineers and other experts to conduct the development project.

Stephen Ansolabehere, Professor, Department of Political Science.

National Voting Rights Institute, *Boston, MA*

Support. Two years, $400,000.

With funding from other foundations, the National Voting Rights Institute is stimulating public debate on Buckley v. Valeo—the 1976 Supreme Court decision that prohibits mandatory campaign spending caps as an infringement on free speech. Because Buckley allows innovative state and local campaign finance reforms passed by voters to be challenged on constitutional grounds, the institute is also engaged in helping to lay the legal groundwork to encourage the Supreme Court to revisit the decision. Through its integrated program of litigation, public education and coalition building, the institute assists grassroots reformers by serving as a legal defense and advisory center and defending state and local campaign finance reform legislation and ballot initiatives under legal challenge.

John Bonifaz, Executive Director. www.nvri.org

Strengthening the Nonprofit and Philanthropic Sector

African Women's Development Fund, *Accra, Ghana*

Establishment and general support. Three years, $500,000.

Institutionalized philanthropy is a relatively new phenomenon in Africa; the African Women's Development Fund is the first regional African philanthropic initiative created to strengthen organizations led by African women working on a range of women's issues. During its first three years, the fund is focusing on building an infrastructure, developing and implementing fundraising and communications plans and making grants. Governed by an executive board of distinguished women leaders from Africa and elsewhere, the fund will be part of a growing network of funds around the world that have been instrumental in providing critical support to organizations working to improve the status of women.

Bisi Adeleye-Fayemi, Executive Director. www.awdf.com

Aspen Institute, Inc., *Washington, DC*

Dissemination of the Nonprofit Sector and Philanthropy Program's "State of America's Nonprofit Sector" products. One year, $100,000.

Demographic shifts, changes in public policy and attitudes, new commercial impulses, growing competition from for-profit providers and technological advances comprise some of the forces that are transforming key components of the nonprofit sector in the United States. To track the economic and policy challenges confronting the nonprofit sector, assess their impact and inform nonprofit practitioners, scholars, policymakers and members of the media about their consequences, the Aspen Institute's Nonprofit Sector and Philanthropy Program has convened experts in the field to produce a book-length report that identifies, analyzes and synthesizes critical trends for the sector overall, as well as for several of its major areas. Because dissemination is critical to increasing public knowledge

of the recent developments, Corporation funds are being used to support the project's outreach, distribution and public relations efforts.

Alan Abramson, Director, Nonprofit Sector and Philanthropy Program. www.aspeninst.org

CompuMentor Project, *San Francisco, CA*

Marketing and evaluation of TechSoup, a technology web site for nonprofit organizations. One year, $150,000.

Founded in 1987, CompuMentor has become one of the largest and most well known nonprofit technology assistance providers in the country. In 2000, CompuMentor created TechSoup, a web site that provides the nonprofit sector with a single port of entry for accessing a wide range of Internet-based technical data. The site catalogues and provides access to online resources on understanding, evaluating, planning for, purchasing and maintaining technology. Under this grant, CompuMentor is expanding its efforts to increase awareness of the site and evaluating the extent to which its resources enhance the ability of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) to understand and use technology toward achieving their missions. The site is specifically targeted to meet the needs of technology decision-making and administrative staff in the 650,000 small- to mid-sized NGOs nationwide.

Daniel Ben-Horin, Founder and President. www.compumentor.org, www.techsoup.org

ImpactOnline Inc., *San Francisco, CA*

VolunteerMatch, an online service that matches potential volunteers and nonprofit organizations. One year, $400,000.

VolunteerMatch, a service of ImpactOnline, was established in 1999 to provide an accessible and affordable online service that matches nonprofit organizations with potential volunteers. The service helps to address a documented gap between millions of Americans who want to invest their time and assistance in an organization or cause and nonprofits that are looking for volunteers but do not have the technical or financial resources to find them. A key goal for VolunteerMatch during the next few years is to significantly expand the base of nonprofits participating in the network and increase the number of volunteer placements.

Jay Backstrand, President and Chief Executive Officer. www.impactonline.org, www.volunteermatch.org

Independent Sector, *Washington, DC*

Charity Lobbying in the Public Interest project. Two years, $150,000.

Charity Lobbying in the Public Interest, established as a project of Independent Sector, conducts public education and outreach activities to leaders of local, state and national charities—as well as to the attorneys and accountants on whom charities depend for advice about the law—about the important role lobbying can play in working toward an organization's mission. In addition to providing information on all facets of the law related to lobbying and advocacy, the project disseminates publications and videos, interacts with members of the press, conducts training seminars and develops curriculum materials on advocacy that have been adopted by several university-based nonprofit management programs across the country.

Bob Smucker, Co-Director, Charity Lobbying in the Public Interest. www.independentsector.org

Johns Hopkins University, *Baltimore, MD*

Start-up phase of a national research project that links nonprofit practitioners and scholars to improve nonprofit practice. One year, $300,000.

The Institute for Policy Studies' Center for Civil Society Studies at Johns Hopkins University is launching the "Listening Post," a national research project to determine the challenges nonprofit organizations are facing—such as for-profit competition and shifts in public support—and the strategies each is using to address them. Project staff members will conduct a survey of 500 nonprofit organizations across the country that will serve as "listening posts," hold a series of nonprofit roundtable discussions, synthesize data and distribute findings in several formats to research, educational and policymaking institutions. The goal is to

create a mechanism by which practitioners and researchers can quickly and efficiently understand and communicate important developments in the field.

Lester M. Salamon, Director, Center for Civil Society Studies, Institute for Policy Studies. www.jhu.edu/~ccss

Maryland Association of Nonprofit Organizations, *Baltimore, MD*

National replication of its "Standards for Excellence" program. Two years, $900,000.

Established in 1992, the Maryland Association of Nonprofit Organizations provides hundreds of nonprofit member organizations with networking opportunities, access to affordable health and insurance benefit programs, training and technical assistance in all facets of management and representation in public policy debates. In 1998, the association launched its Standards for Excellence program, a comprehensive set of performance indicators used to assess an organization's core management, self-regulation and accountability mechanisms. To strengthen the functioning and leadership of nonprofit organizations outside of Maryland, the association is working on a project to replicate the nationally recognized program in five states over the next two years.

Peter Berns, Executive Director. www.mdnonprofit.org.

National Center for Nonprofit Boards, *Washington, DC*

Capacity-building programs and tools that will help small- and mid-sized nonprofits strengthen their boards of directors. Two years, $300,000.

Founded in 1988, the National Center for Nonprofit Boards works to build the governance capacity of boards of directors of nonprofit organizations (NGOs) by developing and providing rigorous training programs, governance tools and hands-on technical assistance. To help strengthen the boards of small- and mid-sized NGOs, the center is expanding its free public access information service, which reaches more than 5,000 NGOs yearly, developing and conducting regional and statewide training seminars, distributing online and print versions of its publications and donating resource libraries of its publications, videos and other materials to state nonprofit associations across the country.

Judith O'Connor, President and CEO. www.ncnb.org

National Institute on Money in State Politics, *Helena, MT*

Evaluation of the institute's work, expanded marketing efforts, and general support. Two years, $700,000.

The National Institute on Money in State Politics, a nonpartisan, nonprofit organization dedicated to accurate, unbiased documentation and research on campaign finance at the state level, is completing a project on the 2000 elections. In addition, staff members are developing a comprehensive national database on state-level campaign finance, undertaking research on the 2001-2002 election cycle—made available in real time during the elections—expanding the organization's web site and launching an outreach project to build new research partnerships, increase dissemination and target key users—including academics, reporters, campaign finance reformers, lawmakers and attorneys.

Samantha Sanchez, Co-Director. www.statemoney.org, www.followthemoney.org

Urban Institute, *Washington, DC*

Creation of a standardized template that can be used to collect, synthesize and disseminate empirical data and information about the value and contributions of the nonprofit sector across and within states. Eighteen months, $293,000.

The National Center for Charitable Statistics, a project of the Urban Institute's Center on Nonprofits and Philanthropy, is partnering with the Center for Civil Society Studies of Johns Hopkins University to create a standardized template that nonprofit associations can use to collect and synthesize data about the scope, dimensions and finances of nonprofit organizations (NGOs), the role of the nonprofit sector as an employer and charitable-giving patterns across and

within states. This tool, by which nonprofit associations could more easily produce informative, quality reports that integrate the available information on NGOs within specific states, will help increase the capacity of the nonprofit sector to take a vigorous and informed role in representing sector issues with policymakers, journalists and members of the public.

Robert D. Reischauer, President. www.nccs.urban.org

Discretionary Grants

Alliance for Children and Families, Inc., *Milwaukee, WI*

Nine-month grant of $25,000 for the development and assessment of a technology-based association management system for recently merged nonprofit organizations

American Forum, *Washington, DC*

Ten-month grant of $25,000 for education of local news media, including editorial boards, on campaign finance issues

Ballot Initiative Strategy Center Foundation, *Alston, MA*

Five-month grant of $25,000 toward the creation of a searchable database of ballot initiative campaign donors

Brookings Institution, *Washington, DC*

One-year grant of $20,000 toward dissemination of Bush v. Gore: The Court Cases and the Commentary, a discussion of the 2000 presidential election

Citizens Research Foundation, *Berkeley, CA*

One-year grant of $25,000 toward a conference to formulate a research agenda on campaign finance reform

City University of New York, *New York, NY*

Six-month grant of $25,000 toward a conference that will analyze future prospects for independent and third party electoral politics at the national, state and local levels

Foundation of America Youth in Action, *Palos Verdes Estates, CA*

Six-month grant of $25,000 toward its "Youth in Action" campaign

Greenlining Institute, *San Francisco, CA*

One-year grant of $25,000 for a conference on campaign financing and its impact on low-income and minority communities

Independent Sector, *Washington, DC*

Two-year grant of $20,400 toward membership support in 2001 and 2002

National Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium, Inc., *Washington, DC*

One-year grant of $25,000 for development of a fundraising plan

National Center on Nonprofit Enterprise Inc., *Arlington, VA*

One-year grant of $10,000 toward a conference to explore approaches to economic decision-making by nonprofit organizations

New York Fair Elections Project, Inc., *New York, NY*

Six-month grant of $25,000 toward a conference on campaign finance reform in New York State

New York Regional Association of Grantmakers, Inc., *New York, NY*

One-year grant of $10,000 toward membership support in 2001

University of Oklahoma Foundation, Inc., *Norman, OK*

One-year grant of $25,000 for a study to compare traditional and Internet sources of campaign information to assess their effects on voter cynicism and trust in political processes

Public Campaign, *Washington, DC*

Four-month grant of $25,000 for institutional development

Public Campaign, *Washington, DC*

Six-month grant of $25,000 toward shadow political conventions in Philadelphia and Los Angeles that will raise public interest on income inequality and campaign reform

Research Triangle Institute, *Research Triangle Park, NC*

One-year grant of $25,000 toward a nationwide study that will track and analyze Census 2000 participation

Rutgers University, *New Brunswick, NJ*

One-year grant of $25,000 for a conference at the Eagleton Institute of Politics to explore strategies to make academic research more useful to state legislators

Search for Common Ground, *Washington, DC*

Six-month grant of $15,000 toward establishing a dialogue between liberals and conservatives on national issues

Tides Center, *San Francisco, CA*

One-year grant of $25,000 as a final grant toward a national media campaign on citizen participation in the 2000 elections

Tides Center, *San Francisco, CA*

Five-month grant of $25,000 toward a conference coordinated by WomenVote to assess the success and challenges of nonprofit voter registration and voter education programs in 2000

Special Opportunities Fund

Camera News, Inc. *New York, NY*

Educational outreach and dissemination of a documentary on Ralph Johnson Bunche. Fifteen months, $250,000.

Narrated by Sidney Poitier, Ralph Bunche: An American Odyssey is a two-hour documentary film on the life of the first African American and the first person of color in the world to win the Nobel Peace Prize. The film, which aired on PBS, highlights Bunche's contributions to peacekeeping, decolonization, human rights and civil rights, including his involvement in the Armistice Agreements between Arab nations and Israel and his service as Undersecretary General of the United Nations for almost two decades. This grant, which complements a Corporation-supported project on the intellectual history of the United Nations, supports educational outreach activities and dissemination of the film and curriculum materials to secondary schools, colleges and universities and nonprofit organizations.

William Greaves, President and Chief Executive Officer, William Greaves Productions, New York, NY.

Center for Strategic and International Studies Inc., *Washington, DC*

Research and dissemination on the positive example of Moorish Spain to assist the development of Israeli-Palestinian comity. Eighteen months, $239,000.

To strengthen scholarship on Islam and complement peacekeeping efforts in the Middle East, a team of researchers at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) is examining a period of Moorish Spain's history when, from the eighth to the fifteenth century, Muslims, Christians and Jews developed a thriving society of intersectarian comity. Research on and analysis of the period is to be shared with scholars, policymakers and members of the media to explore the applicability of the Moorish Spain paradigm to contemporary Israeli-Palestinian relations specifically and to Jewish-Muslim relations in general. CSIS will conduct outreach on the project's findings through the distribution of reports and through a variety of academic, cultural and educational programs.

Joseph V. Montville, Director, Preventive Diplomacy Program. www.csis.org

KIDSNET, *Washington, DC*

One-time funding toward a joint effort with the Favorite Poem Project to distribute print anthologies and videos to small-town and rural libraries in the U.S. and to conduct summer poetry institutes for teachers. Fifteen months, $200,000.

In 1998, Robert Pinsky, United States Poet Laureate, created the Favorite Poem Project in collaboration with colleagues at Boston University's School of Education. With this grant, the project is conducting a dissemination campaign, distributing up to 1,500 community-building kits that contain an anthology, entitled *America's Favorite Poems*, published by the project, a full color poster, an edited video collection featuring poetry readings and programming materials for educators and librarians. Two summer institutes for public school teachers, led by Pinsky, on integrating poetry into existing curricula are being held during the summers of 2001 and 2002. Ideas for related programs are to be generated and shared on the project's web site and bulletin board. KIDSNET, a national nonprofit organization that focuses on children's electronic media, is coordinating the production and distribution of the kits.

Karen Jaffe, Executive Director.

New School University, *New York, NY*

Transregional Center for Democratic Studies. One year, $57,500.

In 1997, building on its work in Latin America, Southern Africa, East and Central Europe and Central Asia and the Caucasus, New School University established the Transregional Center for Democratic

Studies. The center, which identifies and supports opportunities for training and research in the social sciences that have arisen with the emergence of democratization in the four regions, is launching a three-year program to foster cross-dialogue between scholars from the regions on the challenges of attendant social, political and economic changes. The program, entitled Transregional Learning Networks, will convene a series of institutes to provide opportunities for cross-training and research to selected representatives of each host region.

Elzbieta Matynia, Director, Transregional Center for Democratic Studies.

Tides Center, *New York, NY*

Establishing a center for transitional justice. Two years, $250,000.

In places as diverse as East Timor, Sierra Leone, Indonesia and the former Yugoslavia, new regimes are facing complex questions regarding past political violence and whether and in what ways to hold perpetrators accountable for their crimes. To strengthen the impact of the governmental, nongovernmental and international organizations focused on developing and analyzing strategies to address these issues in relation to a myriad of post-conflict political transitions, the International Center for Transitional Justice is being established to provide key actors in post-conflict states with coordinated international information, analysis and technical assistance on effective ways to deal with the legacy of the past. The Tides Center will provide administrative oversight.

Drummond Pike, President. www.tidescenter.org

Twenty-First Century Initiative Inc., *Washington, DC*

Educational outreach and dissemination of a documentary on John W. Gardner. One year, $200,000.

Few Americans are familiar with John W. Gardner's writings on the importance of community, leadership, excellence and equality. Fewer still know of the integral role he played in the creation of major nonprofit organizations like Common Cause and Independent Sector. Gardner, who was president of Carnegie Corporation of New York and The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, also served both Republican and Democratic administrations, most notably when he left the Corporation in 1965 to become Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare for the Johnson Administration. This grant supports the educational outreach of a documentary film on Gardner—to be produced by Richard D. Stamberger—including the development of an online educational program to ensure ongoing, interactive access to the film and its themes.

Richard D. Stamberger, President and Executive Producer.

United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, *Geneva, Switzerland*

Engaging youth to help plan and participate in the 2001 United Nations' World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia, and Related Intolerance. One year, $500,000.

From August 31 to September 7, 2001, the United Nations sponsored a World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia, and Related Intolerance in Durban, South Africa. The event convened government leaders and representatives from nongovernmental and other key human rights organizations to review progress made in the fight against racism, to formulate concrete recommendations about specific programs the United Nations could undertake to combat racism and to develop an action plan that will incorporate national, regional and international strategies of intervention. This grant supports the participation in the conference of young people from British Commonwealth countries, regional and national public education about the conference and the strengthening and establishment of anti-racism campaigns involving youth.

Jyoti Shankar Singh, Executive Coordinator, World Conference Against Racism Secretariat. www.unhchr.ch/hchr_un.htm

Discretionary Grants

Artists Rights Foundation, *Los Angeles, CA*

Six-month grant of $25,000 toward planning a middle/high school curriculum that incorporates film in traditional subject areas

Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs, Inc., *New York, NY*

Seven-month grant of $17,000 for a research study on Raphael Lemkin, founder of the Genocide Treaty

Harvard University, *Cambridge, MA*

One-year grant of $25,000 toward a research project on affirmative action

International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights, *Vienna, Austria*

One-year grant of $20,000 toward research and dissemination of a book on the formation of the legal concept of genocide

Library of Congress, *Washington, DC*

Five-month grant of $25,000 toward planning a national commission on adult literacy

Millennium World Peace Summit, Inc., *New York, NY*

Three-month grant of $25,000 toward the participation of Muslim leaders in its Millennium World Peace Summit of Religious and Spiritual Leaders

Rand Corporation, *Santa Monica, CA*

One-year grant of $25,000 toward its Science and Policy Institute's efforts to educate policymakers on key science and technology issues

Women's Leadership Fund, *New York, NY*

One-year grant of $25,000 toward research and public education on youth engagement

Carnegie Scholars

Robert Bates

Two-year grant of $95,237 for a research project entitled A Study of the Political and Economic Determinants of Africa's Development Experience, With Emphasis on Governance and Conflict

Diane Davis

Two-year grant of $99,100 for a research project entitled Public vs. Private Security Forces and The Rule of Law: The Transformation of Policing in South Africa, Russia and Mexico

Georgi Derluguian

Two-year grant of $89,991 for a research project entitled The Globalization of Mafia Enterprise: From Diagnosis to Civil Society Counteraction

Laura Donohue

Two-year grant of $99,440 for a research project entitled Security and Freedom in the Face of Terrorism

Jeff Faux

Two-year grant of $100,000 for a research project entitled Toward a North American Social Contract

Benjamin Highton

Two-year grant of $100,000 for a research project entitled African American Representation in the U.S. Congress

Donald Horowitz

Ten-month grant of $100,000 for a research project entitled Constitutional Design for Severely Divided Societies

James Jonah

Eighteen-month grant of $78,689 for a research project entitled The UN in Conflict Resolution: The Role of the International Civil Servant

Heinrich Mintrop

Two-year grant of $99,845 for a research project entitled School Accountability in the U.S. and Germany: Learning from Common Challenges and Different Paths

Jamie Monson

Ten-month grant of $93,220 for a research project entitled Developing a Database and Mapping Program to Evaluate the Role Played by the Tazara Railroad in the Rural Development of Southern Tanzania

Dani Rodrik

Two-year grant of $100,000 for a research project entitled Institutions, Integration, and Geography: The Analytics and Empirics of International Development

Rogers Smith

Two-year grant of $99,340 for a research project entitled Civic Horizons: Achieving Democratic Citizenship in Modern America

Nina Tannenwald

Two-year grant of $99,600 for a research project entitled The Sociology of Danger: Weapons Stigmatization in International Politics

Brian Taylor

Two-year grant of $100,000 for a research project entitled State Power and Russia's Regions

Sharon Weiner

Two-year grant of $100,000 for a research project entitled Our Own Worst Enemy? Bureaucratic Organizational, and Political Constraints on U.S. Efforts to Combat the Proliferation of Weapons Expertise in the Former Soviet Union

Amy Stuart Wells

One-year grant of $56,967 for a research project entitled In Search of Uncommon Schools: Charter School Reform in Historical Perspective

Dissemination

Andrew Carnegie believed that no idea, no matter how powerful, could affect change unless it had an audience. The dissemination awards program focuses on the ideas and the programs of the Corporation and its grantees and it supports strategic communication plans that will creatively leverage these ideas so that they reach a wider audience. Our goal is to ensure that deeper knowledge about issues of concern reaches those who can make a difference as well as the general public.

Carnegie Forums $25,000

The Carnegie Forums, an occasional series of working lunches organized around various topics, debuted in October 2000 with guests Elaine Kamarck and Sandy Kress, education advisors to presidential candidates Al Gore and George W. Bush, and were attended by education, philanthropic and business leaders. Kenneth Prewitt, outgoing director of the U.S. Census, spoke about Census 2000 at a forum held in February 2001. A third forum held in July 2001 featured Newton Minow, former head of the FCC and Lawrence Grossman, past president of PBS and NBC News, in a discussion about the promise of digital communications and broadcasting and the need to make certain that educational, civic and cultural possibilities are not overshadowed by commercialization.

Information about the forums was brought to larger audiences through newspaper coverage, webcasting and follow-up events.

Strategic Communications $63,000

An important focus of dissemination continues to be capacity building for grantees. Following Andrew Carnegie's mandate to advance knowledge and understanding, our dissemination strategy seeks to provide grantees with strategic communication skills to enhance their ability to articulate their important work to a broader population. This year, several projects were carried out in this area:

Technical Assistance to Grantees ($43,000)

For a second year, program staff collaborated to identify grantees who would benefit from strategic communication training. In September 2001, selected grantees from across the nation gathered in Washington, D.C., for intensive training with leading experts in communication theory and practice.

Spin Project ($5,000)

This three-day session provided communications training tailored to the needs of a group of the Corporation's Strengthening U.S. Democracy (SUSD) program grantees working in the area of campaign finance reform.

Berenson Productions ($15,000)

Through this workshop, Corporation staff members were given strategic communications training.

Firelight Media $152,000

To complement SUSD grantmaking in the area of campaign finance reform, a dissemination award to this acclaimed film studio contributed to a full-length documentary detailing the 2001 New York City Council elections, the first election ever to be governed by term limits and campaign financing rules. The documentary follows the campaigns of about half a dozen candidates from different parts of the city through to the November election. The documentary aired on New York's WNET/Channel 13 in February 2002. Information about the broadcast was distributed in advance to schools and civic groups. A companion program featuring civic leaders discussing campaign financing was shown immediately following the documentary.

Northeast Action $35,000

To support SUSD grantees, a dissemination award permitted a film crew to cover the campaigns of candidates who participated in successful state campaign finance reform programs. It produced a 20-minute documentary narrated by Bill Moyers about the positive effect of the Clean Election Act on November 2000 elections in Maine and Arizona, two states that have instituted the reform. This dissemination award supported the production and distribution of the film, called The Road to Clean Elections, which has been shown numerous times in other states working on campaign finance legislation.

New York Fair Elections Project, Inc. $10,000

To enhance a grant made by SUSD that supported a February conference called Bringing Campaign Finance Reform to Albany, a small dissemination award leveraged coverage of the meeting before, during and after. This award supported press outreach across New York State, bringing the issue to a wider audience through post-conference coverage in print and on radio.

Progressive Media/American Forum $33,000

In an effort to reach local audiences across America on topical issues important to the Corporation, the Public Affairs department made two dissemination awards. Progressive Media in Madison, Wisconsin and American Forum in Washington, D.C., produced op-ed pieces on campaign finance reform, education, nuclear weapons and immigration for newspapers in smaller markets. Progressive Media distributes its material over the Knight-Ridder news wire and has had Carnegie Corporation program-related articles appear in papers across the nation, including the Houston Chronicle, San Diego Union-Tribune, Las Vegas Review Journal, Akron Beacon Journal, and San Juan Star. American Forum works with state editorial boards to produce stories on Corporation program issues for local newspapers and radio programs.

Journal Donation Project $10,300

The New School Journal Donation Project received a small dissemination award to distribute five publications of the Carnegie Council on Preventing Deadly Conflict (CCPDC) to targeted libraries and institutions in former Soviet states. The five pieces selected for the project were relevant to the target population and contributed to fulfilling the Corporation's mandate to disseminate its work widely.

New Century High Schools Consortium for New York City $5,000

A press launch on December 14, 2000 announced a collaborative effort by the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, the Open Society Institute (OSI) and Carnegie Corporation to commit $30 million over five years to redesign some of New York City's large, comprehensive high schools. Speakers included New York City Schools Chancellor Harold Levy, Randi Weingarten, president of the teachers union, Patty Stonesifer, president of the Gates Foundation, and Gara LaMarche, director of U.S. programs for OSI.

Carnegie Scholars $125,000

To promote awareness of the Corporation's Scholars Program and to build its reputation, as well as to honor those who were awarded the fellowships, a series of notices were published in targeted newspapers.

Biological Weapons "Challenge" Paper Press Briefing $1,000

On March 8, 2001 a briefing for Washington, D.C.-area defense and national security reporters was held in Washington to announce the release of a new Carnegie "Challenge" paper called *Defining the Debate on Controlling Biological Weapons.* The paper's release coincided with a meeting of grantees on bioweapons issues in Washington. The report was also disseminated to other U.S. defense reporters as well as academic and nonprofit organizations concerned with weapons of mass destruction. The Biological Weapons "Challenge" paper, which was posted on the Corporation's web site (www.carnegie.org) was the most downloaded publication on the site in the month that it was published.

Turning Points 2000 $4,600

A dissemination award launched the follow-up to the popular *Turning Points* report produced by Carnegie Corporation in 1989. In collaboration with Teachers College Press, advance notices announcing *Turning Points 2000* were sent to nearly 6,000 educators and scholars in late 2000. Since then, Teachers College Press has received nearly 18,000 requests for the publication.

Higher Education in the Former Soviet Union $9,300

Three Russian universities—Tomsk State, Ural State and Voronezh State—were chosen to become sites for a Center for Advanced Study and Education (CASE), academic hubs for social science and humanities studies, through collaborative grantmaking by Carnegie Corporation, the MacArthur Foundation and the Russian Ministry of Higher Education. To ensure that leaders in Russian educational and policy circles were aware of this long-term project in higher education, the Corporation hosted a series of events in Moscow to recognize the winners of the CASE selection.

Beacon Press $27,000

Building on an earlier Education division grant toward a PBS series and companion book called School: The Story of American Public Education, a dissemination award to the book's publisher, Beacon Press, supported a bookstore and library campaign to create community forums focusing on the importance and role of public education. Activities included "Teacher Night" presentations at approximately 750 Barnes and Noble, Borders and other bookstores, promotions in the *Library Journal* and *Forecast* as well as to school and public libraries.

Learning Matters, Inc. $29,000

John Merrow received an Education division grant that resulted in the production of *School Sleuth*, a program to help parents and teachers evaluate local schools. Since airing on PBS, *School Sleuth* has won a Peabody Award and high marks from educator and parent groups. A dissemination award made possible a DVD version of the production that adds an interactive component for teacher training seminars. The DVD has already been used successfully in one large teacher meeting and is expected to be a resource for local, regional and national education meetings.

International Center for Global Communications Foundation $50,000

Dissemination funds contributed toward a production of a documentary exploring attitudinal barriers to civic participation and electoral reform efforts as a result of the 2000 general election.

The Russia Initiative—Dissemination Activities Total: $302,600

This 18-month endeavor brought together more than 100 Russian and American scholars in four task forces, each focusing on a particular aspect of Russia's security, economy, democratization, social cohesion and state building. Dissemination efforts for the findings of the Russia Initiative are extensive and ongoing. The film documentary, noted below, was produced with funding in 2000; all other activities were part of this year's portfolio.

Before any printed materials were produced, targeted lists were compiled of scholars and faculty in

departments of Slavic Studies, Russian language, international relations and political science. An advance mailing, which included a form for ordering the publications, announced the advent of the task force reports and the final report and video called *Russia: Facing the Future*. Requests for Russia Initiative reports and for *Russia: Facing the Future* materials have come from every European country, including Russia, as well as Turkey, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Japan, Australia and New Zealand. Most requests come from government officials and agencies, diplomatic offices, academic institutions and nonprofit organizations.

THE RUSSIA INITIATIVE: REPORTS OF THE FOUR TASK FORCES (IN ENGLISH AND RUSSIAN) ($46,000)
At the conclusion of the Russia Initiative, each study group submitted a scholarly report outlining conclusions and recommendations. All were combined into one publication, now available in either English or Russian. The Corporation received requests for more than 3,000 copies of this publication.

RUSSIA: FACING THE FUTURE VIDEO AND REPORT (TEXT IN ENGLISH AND RUSSIAN, VIDEO ENGLISH ONLY) ($94,000)
The hour-long documentary and companion report (available in English and Russian) form a boxed set entitled *Russia: Facing the Future*. Nearly 2,000 of the sets have been distributed.

RUSSIA: FACING THE FUTURE,
LIBRARY OF CONGRESS PREMIERE ($57,000)
On May 8, results from the Russia Initiative were announced at an event held at the Library of Congress and co-hosted by Librarian of Congress James H. Billington and Corporation President Vartan Gregorian. About 250 people attended, including the Russian ambassador to the United States, a select group of Congressional members and key committee staff, foreign affairs reporters, and others involved in international relations.

THE "NATIONAL CONVERSATIONS" ($60,000)
To take the *Russia: Facing the Future* discussion "beyond the Beltway," the World Affairs Councils of Washington, D.C., was given a grant to organize a series of events in different cities around the country (see below). All programs included commentary by one or two of the original task force scholars and a screening of the documentary.

Following each screening, viewers were asked to complete a brief written survey to gauge opinions about the documentary and the event. Order forms for the book and video were also made available.

San Diego, CA: The San Diego World Affairs Council scheduled four separate events in June (designated "Russia Month" by San Diego Mayor Dick Murphy). UCSD, an independent television station on the campus of UC/San Diego, broadcast *Russia: Facing the Future* four times during August and September.

Charlotte, NC (June 5): A day-long event included a one-hour interview on local WFAE radio with task force member Alexander Motyl, a luncheon with corporate sponsors and local businessmen involved with Russia and an evening screening of the documentary following an address by Motyl.

Stamford, CT (June 6): Kate Schecter, a Russia Initiative participant, gave an overview of the project during interviews with Connecticut Public Radio and a live Cablevision talk show, and later gave an address in conjunction with the documentary screening.

San Francisco, CA (June 7): The World Affairs Council of Northern California, in collaboration with the San Francisco Commonwealth Club, held an evening event featuring task force members Judyth Twigg and Bruce Blair along with Adam Stulberg, author of the *Russia: Facing the Future* summary report.

Grand Rapids, MI (June 14): Tom Graham, another member of the Russia Initiative task force, was the featured speaker at a luncheon with the International Exchange Group, an organization whose members work with Russian counterparts. Graham also appeared on local television and, together with David Speedie, chairman of the Corporation's International Peace and Security program, was interviewed by

Grand Rapids National Public Radio during a live morning program.

Minneapolis, MN (June 26): Kate Schecter and fellow task force member Blair Ruble gave evening addresses prior to the screening. Earlier in the day, Ruble and Schecter participated in a related discussion with the editorial board of the *Minneapolis Star Tribune*. Ruble was also interviewed by the Minnesota News Network (MNN).

Pittsburgh, PA (June 27): Russia Initiative participants Peter Reddaway and Judyth Twigg discussed the project in a morning address to a summer institute for area high school teachers, an afternoon interview for KQV Newsradio, and an evening event that included a panel discussion with Reddaway, Twigg and members of the University of Pittsburgh's Russian and East European Studies department.

The Council on Foreign Relations ($7,600)
The Council received a dissemination award for a local conversation in New York City on June 12 that included a dinner, video screening and panel discussion focusing on policy options for the Bush administration. Featured task force representatives were Clifford Gaddy, Tom Graham, Judyth Twigg and J. Andrew Spindler.

Televised Broadcasts ($23,000)
During the summer of 2001, the documentary was televised by Maryland Public Television, WorldLink TV (satellite feed), and UCSD-TV in San Diego. Notices about the Maryland Public Television broadcast appeared in Baltimore and Washington newspapers.

Other Media Activities ($10,000)
In collaboration with Washington-based Widmeyer Communications, outreach was made to both the American and foreign press. Members of the Russia Initiative were interviewed by AP Radio, *The Financial Times* and Cox News, among others.

Learning Guide for Teachers ($5,000)
Positive feedback from outreach made to world history educators resulted in the development of a learning guide that can be used in conjunction with the documentary by secondary and post-secondary teachers. Copies of the learning guide and tape of *Russia: Facing the Future* were distributed to a select group of advance placement teachers and also made available to world history and international relations instructors.

Publications $32,000
Dissemination funds contributed to the publication of *Listening to Families: The Role of Values in Shaping Effective Social Policy* by Kathleen Sylvester, a paper that the Corporation's Education division felt would enhance the strategies of many early childhood grantees. The report has since become one of the most requested Carnegie publications.

Other dissemination awards made possible a wider distribution to libraries (especially in Africa, Russia and Eastern Europe) of specific books supported by Carnegie Corporation.

Miscellaneous $38,000
Small dissemination sums went toward a mail solicitation for the Corporation's magazine, *The Carnegie Reporter*, research on dissemination activities by other U.S. foundations, and the Carnegie Oral History Project.

Publications and Nonprint Materials

In seeking to fulfill Andrew Carnegie's mission to promote "the advancement and diffusion of knowledge and understanding," the Corporation funds studies, research and writing and similar projects that often result in print, film/video, audio and electronic materials for public dissemination. More than 1,200 books, reports, textbooks and curricula have been published with Corporation grants in the past fifteen years. Although a high proportion are intended for academic and professional readers and other specialists, quite a few have reached a broad audience, and the ideas have taken root in policy and practice. Electronic publishing has become an increasingly important arena for dissemination, and the majority of the Corporation's grantees now have web sites, which are listed along with grant descriptions in the preceding pages.

The following selections of publications and nonprint materials resulting from grants were received by the Corporation in 2000-2001. The list does not include papers published in journals, newspapers, magazines or books. The materials are listed by program area.

Education

Breathing: Teacher's Guide, by H. Craig Heller, Mary L. Kiely and Stan Ogren
(Chicago, IL: Everyday Learning Corporation, 1999)

Circulation, by H. Craig Heller and James V. Lawry
(Chicago, IL: Everyday Learning Corporation, 1999)

Circulation: Teacher's Guide, by H. Craig Heller, Mary L. Kiely and Stan Ogren
(Chicago, IL: Everyday Learning Corporation, 1999)

Designs for Science Literacy, book and CD-ROM, by Project 2061
(Washington, DC: American Association for the Advancement of Science, 2001)

Digestion and Nutrition, by H. Craig Heller and James V. Lawry
(Chicago, IL: Everyday Learning Corporation, 1999)

Digestion and Nutrition: Teacher's Guide, by H. Craig Heller, Mary L. Kiely and Stan Ogren
(Chicago, IL: Everyday Learning Corporation, 1999)

Early Childhood Education and Care: International Perspectives, report of a consultative meeting, edited by Sheila B. Kamerman
(New York, NY: Institute for Child and Family Policy, Columbia University, 2001)

Ecology: Teacher's Guide, by Robert B. Blair
(Chicago, IL: Everyday Learning Corporation, 1999)

Genetics: Teacher's Guide, by H. Craig Heller, Mary L. Kiely and Stan Ogren
(Chicago, IL: Everyday Learning Corporation, 1999)

Lives of Cells: Teacher's Guide, by Mary L. Kiely, Stan Ogren and Ellen Porzig
(Chicago, IL: Everyday Learning Corporation, 1999)

Our Last Best Shot: Guiding Our Children through Early Adolescence, by Laura Sessions Stepp
(New York, NY: RiverHead Books, 2000)

PBS Scienceline, a K-5 professional development series including six videotapes and a teacher's guide, VHS videotapes
(Alexandria, VA: PBS Video, 2001)

Reproduction: Teacher's Guide, by Modell Marlow Andersen and Herant Katchadourian
(Chicago, IL: Everyday Learning Corporation, 1999)

Sexuality: Teacher's Guide, by Modell Marlow Andersen and Herant Katchadourian
(Chicago, IL: Everyday Learning Corporation, 1999)

Turning Points 2000: Educating Adolescents in the 21st Century, by Anthony W. Jackson and Gayle Davis
(New York, NY: Teachers College Press, 2000)

Your Changing Body: Teacher's Guide, by Modell Marlow Anderson and Herant Katchadourian
(Chicago, IL: Everyday Learning Corporation, 1999)

International Development

A Country Unmasked, by Alex Boraine
(Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 2000)

International Peace and Security

America and the Balkans: Memos to a President, edited by Philip D. Zelikow and Robert B. Zoellick
(New York, NY: W.W. Norton, 2001)

Carrots, Sticks, and Ethnic Conflict: Rethinking Development Assistance, edited by Milton J. Esman and Ronald J. Herring
(Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2001)

The End of Eurasia: Russia on the Border Between Geopolitics and Globalization, by Dmitri Trenin
(Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2001)

Integration of Discharged Military Personnel in Civil Society in Eastern Region of Russia, materials of international scientific conference, May 18-19, 2000, Vladivostok, Russia, in Russian
(Vladivostok, Russia: Far Eastern University, 2001)

International Conflict Resolution after the Cold War, edited by Paul C. Stern and Daniel Druckman
(Washington, DC: National Academy Press, 2000)

Keeping the Edge: Managing Defense for the Future, edited by Ashton B. Carter and John P. White
(Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2001)

"Pakistan and India: Under the Nuclear Shadow," VHS videotape
(Princeton, NJ: Princeton University)

Peacebuilding as Politics: Cultivating Peace in Fragile Societies, by Elizabeth M. Cousens, Chetan Kumar and Karin Wermester
(Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2001)

Russia in the New Century: Stability or Disorder? edited by Victoria E.Bonnell and George W. Breslauer
(Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2000)

Toward Peace in Bosnia: Implementing the Dayton Accords, International Peace Academy Occasional Paper Series, by Elizabeth M. Cousens and Charles K. Cater
(Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2001)

Strengthening U.S. Democracy

"ACF Newsource: Democracy and Education" VHS videotape
(Mill Valley, CA: American Communications Foundation, 2001)

The 2000 Prune Book: How to Succeed in Washington's Top Jobs, by John H. Trattner
(Washington, DC: Brookings Institute Press, 2000)

"Campaigns for Sale: A Video Story Reel on Political Advertising," VHS videotape
(Washington, DC: Radio and Television News Directors Foundation, 2000)

"Connecting Communities," VHS videotape
(Washington, DC: Benton Foundation, 2000)

A Digital Gift to the Nation: Fulfilling the Promise of the Digital and Internet Age, by Lawrence K. Grossman and Newton N. Minow.
(New York, NY: Century Foundation Press, 2001)

"John Gardner: Uncommon American," VHS videotape
(Dobbs Ferry, NY: Working Dog Productions for Twenty-First Century Initiative, 2000)

"The Osgood File: Democracy," cassette
(Mill Valley, CA: American Communications Foundation)

"The Osgood File: Education," cassette
(Mill Valley, CA: American Communications Foundation)

"The Road to Clean Elections," VHS videotape
(Haddow Communications, 2001)

"Tutu and Franklin: A Journey Towards Peace," VHS videotape
(Washington, DC: Wisdom Works, 2001)

"Voices from South Africa: Carnegie Corporation of New York and its History in South Africa," VHS videotape
(New York, NY: Oral History Research Office, Columbia University, 2000)

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Report on Administration

Fiscal 2001: The Year in Review

Trustees guided the Corporation through an eventful year with a steady hand and a palpable sense of teamwork as they turned plans into actions. Spirited and in-depth discussions helped to refine program strategies as well as grantmaking procedures. One new board-related activity also enriched the year: in conjunction with the trustee meeting on October 12, 2001, former board members were invited to join current trustees at a briefing on the Corporation's administrative and programmatic directions. It is expected that briefings like these will be held again from time to time.

Board And Committees

Governor James Hunt of North Carolina and Geoffrey T. Boisi were elected as trustees to four-year terms beginning on October 12, 2001. Trustee Teresa Heinz retired at the end of the February 1, 2001, meeting. Board members expressed their gratitude to Ms. Heinz informally and formally, in a "minute of appreciation."

In its statement, the board said, "Your sage counsel and deep commitment to philanthropy have enriched the work of two presidents, your fellow trustees and the Corporation's staff." The board also took special note that Ms. Heinz' "concern for women and their economic security, which has resulted in critically important publications on the importance, for women, of pensions, savings and retirement planning, is an example of how you have applied the breadth and scope of your knowledge to a

societal problem that, without your championship, might have gone unexplored."

Governor Hunt joined the board after serving his state for four terms, during which he earned a national reputation for his leadership in improving early childhood education, K-12 schools, opportunities in higher education and excellence in teaching. As governor, Hunt made improving education a top priority, including early childhood education, holding students accountable, raising standards and pay for teachers, making schools safer and building strong community support. As a result of his efforts, North Carolina is recognized as the state making the most progress in improving its public schools.

Geoffrey Boisi is vice chairman of J.P. Morgan Chase & Co., the new company created by the merger of Chase Manhattan Corporation and J.P. Morgan & Co. Incorporated. The merger was completed on December 31, 2000. He is also Co-CEO of the new holding company's Investment Bank. J.P. Morgan Chase has assets of $799 billion and operations in more than 50 countries. Boisi brings his experience in the global marketplace, his commitment to education and his long career in philanthropic work to the foundation.

Annual elections were held at the February 1, 2001, board meeting. The trustees re-elected Governor Thomas H. Kean as chairman of the board and re-elected Helene L. Kaplan as its vice chairman. Senator Sam Nunn was re-elected to a second four-year term.

The board elected members to serve on various committees for fiscal year 2001. The Corporation's three standing committees were constituted as follows: Elected to serve on the planning and finance committee were Vincent Mai, Marta Tienda and Helene Kaplan, who was elected chair by the committee members. Elected to the investment management committee were Martin Leibowitz, Raymond Smith and Vincent Mai, who was elected chair by the committee. Elected to the committee on trustees were James Hunt, Vincent Mai, Marta Tienda, Admiral William Owens, Ruth Simmons and Olara Otunnu, who was elected chair by committee members.

The board also elected members to four program subcommittees. Elected to the education subcommittee were Geoffrey Boisi, James Hunt, Martin Leibowitz, Sam Nunn, Olara Otunnu, Ruth Simmons and Judy Woodruff. Elected to the international peace and security subcommittee were Bruce Alberts, Geoffrey Boisi, Vincent Mai, William Owens, Raymond Smith and Marta Tienda. Elected to the international development committee were James Hunt, Helene Kaplan, Sam Nunn, William Owens, Raymond Smith, Marta Tienda and Judy Woodruff. Elected to the strengthening U.S. democracy/special opportunities fund committee were Bruce Alberts, Helene Kaplan, Martin Leibowitz, Vincent Mai, Olara Otunnu and Ruth Simmons.

Both Governor Kean, chairman of the board, and Vartan Gregorian, president of the Corporation, serve *ex officio* on all standing committees. Membership on the ad hoc committee on compensation includes the chair of the board, Thomas Kean, and Helene Kaplan in her duel roles as vice chair of the board and chair of the of the planning and finance committee.

Board Actions

For the past eighteen years, the president has had the ability to make grants in amounts up to $25,000 at his or her discretion without

approval from the trustees. Effective June 14, 2001, the board increased the ceiling for discretionary grants to $50,000; at the direction of the president, larger discretionary grants, those between $25,000 and $50,000, will be monitored and tracked by the Vice President for Strategic Planning and Program Coordination.

Trustee Activities

In November 2000, Ruth Simmons was named Brown University's 18th president, becoming the first woman to lead Brown and the first African American to lead an Ivy League school. (She began her duties as president on July 1, 2001.) During her presidency at Smith College, from 1995 to 2001, her many achievements included establishing an engineering program and raising $300 million. She "is a throwback to the crusading campus leaders of old," as *Time* magazine put it, on September 17, 2001. "She doesn't merely marshal funds; she invests them in the great educational causes of our day."

The year also saw the publication of two books, each co-authored by a trustee.

In *Lifting the Fog of War*, William Owens (writing with Ed Offley) draws on his 34-year Navy career to explain the need for overhauling the nation's fighting forces to make them more efficient and high-tech. In *The Color of Opportunity: Pathways to Family, Welfare and Work*, Marta Tienda (and co-author Haya Stier) builds on the work of William Julius Wilson and uses his landmark survey to answer difficult questions about poverty.

Vartan Gregorian received two honors this year. In appreciation of his "remarkable" scholarship and leadership in academia and philanthropy, the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign presented him with an honorary degree of doctor of humane letters at its 130th commencement in May 2001. Several months later, in September, the National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Armenia named him an Honorary Doctor in recognition of his lifetime achievement as a scholar, educator, humanitarian and philanthropic leader.

Milestones

Michael H. Levine, senior program officer and deputy chair of the Education division left the foundation after more than ten years to become the executive director of the I Am Your Child Foundation. Levine led the Corporation's early childhood activities and the very successful *Starting Points* initiative.

Patricia L. Rosenfield, formerly the chair of the international development program was appointed to the position of special advisor to the vice president and director for strategic planning and chair of the Carnegie Scholars program.

Narciso Matos, formerly senior program officer for the international development program was appointed chair of the program.

Andrés Henríquez, formerly the assistant director for strategic planning and program coordination at the Center for Children and Technology of the Education Development Center, joined the Corporation as a program officer in the education division.

Also joining the staff were Dorothy Delman, administrative assistant in the president's office; Barbara Gombach, program associate, education division; Kimberly Hafner, administrative assistant, international develop-

ment; Ambika Kapur, public affairs associate, public affairs; Adam Liebling, accounting/project assistant, office of the corporate secretary; Catherine Girón Pino, program manager, education division; Carmella Richards, administrative assistant, education division; June Shand, administrative assistant, international development; Connie Solomon, program assistant, international development; Shana Sorhaindo, staff assistant, office of the corporate secretary; Courtenay Sprague, program associate, international development; Li Tan, coordinator of investment performance, investments; Rikard Treiber, grants manager, office of the corporate secretary; Grace Walters, coordinator for dissemination and media programs, public affairs; Sharon Zaks, administrative assistant, international development.

Eleanor Lerman, formerly the director of publications, was promoted to director of public affairs and publications. Aimée Sisco, formerly editorial associate, was promoted to assistant editor. Svetlana Shenker, formerly accounting assistant, was promoted to accounts payable coordinator. Anika Walker-Johnson, formerly administrative assistant, was promoted to executive assistant, international development. June Shand, who joined the staff this year as administrative assistant, was also promoted to executive assistant, international development. And one oversight from last year's report must be rectified here by noting that in fiscal year 2000, Denise A. Clare was promoted from senior investment accountant to controller.

The Corporation expresses its gratitude to staff members who left for other pursuits in the last fiscal year. In addition to Michael Levine's departure, noted above, others leaving the Corporation were: Akin Adubifa, program officer, international development program; Ekua Annan, administrative assistant; Ellen Chege, executive assistant; David Ekbladh, research associate; Rebecca Feeley, administrative assistant; Jennifer Kiernan, administrative assistant; Sonali Mukerjee, administrative assistant; Elana Stern, public affairs associate; Louise Trotman, executive assistant; and Anika Walker-Johnson, executive assistant.

And finally, this year also saw the approach of a milestone of a different kind: the 100th anniversary of Andrew Carnegie's philanthropy, which the Corporation and twenty other Carnegie family institutions and organizations planned to celebrate on December 10, 2001. The Centennial observance marks one of the most significant financial transactions of the 20th century, the year when Andrew Carnegie sold Carnegie Steel to J.P. Morgan and with that act unleashed a major epoch in American philanthropy. Much of the planning for this event, which was guided by the public affairs department, took place over the course of the year and was expected to include the inauguration of The Andrew Carnegie Medal of Philanthropy, which Gregorian said would "honor leaders who understand how modern philanthropy plays a critical role in building and sustaining our democratic institutions."

Report on Investments

Diversification Serves the Endowment Well

The Corporation's strategy of broadly diversifying its investments paid off well during the 1990s bull market and kept losses to a minimum in the bear market of fiscal 2001, which ran from October 1, 2000, to September 30, 2001. Over the past 10 years, the market value of the Corporation's portfolio soared from $967 million to $1.71 billion in September 2001—equaling an annualized increase of 5.9 percent, or more than twice the rate of inflation. This was quite remarkable, given that the portfolio's $743 million growth in value occurred above and beyond paying all investment fees, spending $683.4 million on grants and administration—and weathering the recent storm in the capital markets caused by the bursting of the NASDAQ bubble, recession, terrorism and war preparations.

Apart from showing how quickly markets change, fiscal 2001 demonstrated the powerful benefits of diversification in the Corporation's portfolio. For the first 11 months of the fiscal year, the portfolio's value had essentially been flat, posting a 0.5 percent loss that was, given the circumstances, an outstanding performance for a dismal year. However, with the events of September, the public equity markets were devastated, ultimately resulting in an annual loss of 7.8 percent for the portfolio.

The downturn in capital markets has created a challenging environment for philanthropy and its grantees, but the Corporation's losses could have been much worse. Had the portfolio been

invested exclusively in global equities, its market value would have plummeted by almost 30 percent. As it was, the portfolio's assets were allocated into seven major types of investments, including alternative asset classes that did well despite the difficult market environment. For example, the Corporation's investments in real estate and absolute return strategies produced annual returns of 14.4 percent and 10.0 percent, respectively.[1] The Corporation's fixed income portfolio, which is designed to have high credit quality, also contributed substantially to performance with an annual return of 14.9 percent. When all of the portfolio's investments are compared with their respective market indices, the Corporation's loss of 7.8 percent was less than our policy benchmark's loss of 9.8 percent.[2]

The Corporation's spending policy helps sustain its grantmaking efforts in bad times as well as good.

A survey of foundations and endowments with more than $1 billion in assets also provides some perspective on the portfolio's overall performance for the year ending September 30, 2001. The survey, by Cambridge Associates, indicates that last year's loss of 7.8 percent compared favorably with that of its peers, where the average return was a loss of 9.3 percent.

However strong the Corporation's relative performance was, it is not comforting when the benchmark indices slide into troughs of red ink. In dollar terms, the Corporation's 7.8 percent loss translates into a $145 million loss in the endowment's market value. In addition, the Corporation made cash expenditures of $75 million on grants and administration, causing the overall market value of the portfolio to decline to $1.71 billion, from $1.928 billion a year earlier.

Despite the financial setback experienced during fiscal 2001, the Corporation's spending policy supports a stable flow of funds for the foundation's programs and offers a sense of security for our grantees. The policy, which calls for spending 5.5 percent of the average market value of the endowment during the prior 12 quarters, dampens large swings in valuation. This helps sustain the Corporation's grantmaking efforts in bad times as well as good, helping us fulfill Andrew Carnegie's legacy of using private wealth for the public good in perpetuity.

[1] Absolute return strategies use marketable securities to generate equity-like returns, but with lower volatility and a low correlation with the public markets. Examples of absolute return include event-driven strategies such as risk arbitrage and distressed security investing as well as hedged equity strategies.

[2] The target policy benchmark provides a way to compare the performance of the Corporation's portfolio with appropriate market indices. Each of the portfolio's asset classes (stocks, bonds, real estate, etc.) has a benchmark; the policy benchmark is calculated by multiplying the actual return of an appropriate market index (such as the S & P 500) for each class of assets by the percentage of the Corporation's portfolio that is allocated to that class. The total policy benchmark, the sum of these benchmark calculations, provides an overall measure of actual performance relative to market indices.

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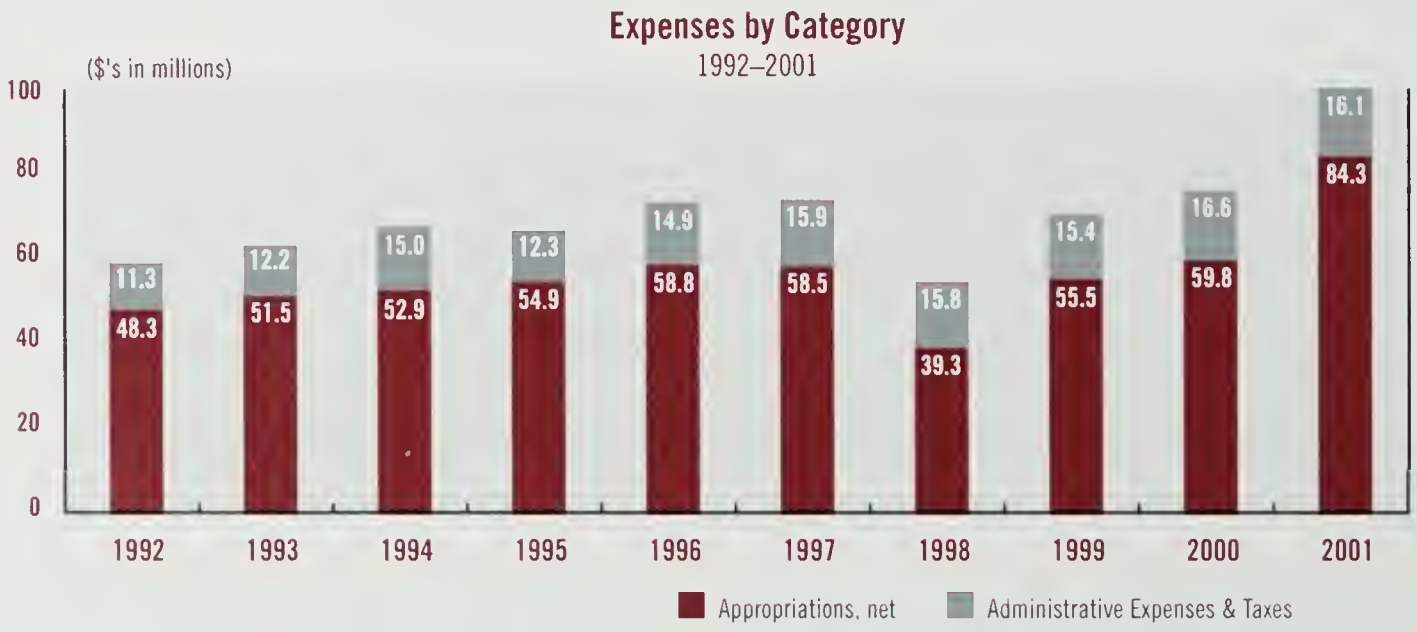
Report on Finances

Financial Highlights

Appropriations and Expenses

For the ten years ended September 30, 2001, the Corporation awarded 2,609 grants totaling $564 million and incurred expenses of $119.4 million for direct charitable activities and administration expenses, excluding investment expenses, and $26 million for taxes, for a total of $709.4 million.

The graph below illustrates the growth in expenses by category over the ten-year period ended September 30, 2001.



Each year the trustees appropriate funds to be used for grants and for projects administered by the officers. Many of the grants involve multiyear commitments. In the fiscal year ended September 30, 2001, 47 percent of the appropriated funds were paid within the fiscal year. Appropriations, net of refunds and cancellations, totaled $84.3 million, compared to $59.8 million in the preceding year.

Program management and direct charitable activities expenses were $9.7 million in the fiscal year ended September 30, 2001, compared with $9.8 million in the previous fiscal year. Included in these amounts, are direct charitable activities of $2.1 million in 2001 and $2.2 million in 2000. Direct charitable activities are services provided directly to other exempt organizations, governmental bodies, and the general public. Such services include providing technical assistance to grantees and potential grantees, conducting educational conferences and research, publishing and disseminating educational materials, and serving on boards of other charitable organizations or public commissions.

General administration expenses were $3 million for both 2001 and 2000.

The schedule below breaks down total expenses, excluding appropriations and taxes, into categories for the year ended September 30, 2001.

	Program management and direct charitable activities	Investment	General administration	Total
Salaries	$ 4,260,516	$ 633,215	$ 1,515,575	$ 6,409,306
Investment advisory and custody fees	—	4,630,929	—	4,630,929
Employee benefits	1,761,955	149,278	576,668	2,487,901
Rent	859,076	150,072	433,850	1,442,998
Consultants	584,774	—	4,686	589,460
Travel	461,919	61,584	15,699	539,202
Quarterly and annual reports	500,460	—	—	500,460
Office expenses	289,625	48,250	126,066	463,941
Legal and accounting services	—	348,077	98,619	446,696
Conferences and meetings	319,079	6,237	23,913	349,229
Computer equipment and services	216,134	33,925	76,140	326,199
Amortization and depreciation	111,110	—	56,114	167,224
Trustees' honoraria and expenses	109,395	—	38,538	147,933
Other	184,119	21,496	61,900	267,515
TOTAL	**$ 9,658,162**	**$ 6,083,063**	**$ 3,027,768**	**$18,768,993***

* In FY2000, total expenses, excluding appropriations and taxes, were $18.6 million, which included $5.9 million of investment expenses.

Taxes

Under the provisions of the Tax Reform Act of 1969, Carnegie Corporation as a private foundation is subject to a federal excise tax of 2 percent on net investment income and realized capital gains. However, under the Tax Reform Act of 1984, the rate is reduced to 1 percent if the foundation maintains its average expense rate of the previous five years and, in addition, spends the tax savings. The Corporation did not meet the requirements for the reduced tax rate for both 2001 and 2000. Excise tax expense for FY2001 was $2.9 million. During 2001, the Corporation had unrelated business income of $1.1 million from certain investment partnership activities. Federal and state taxes of $.5 million on this income are calculated using applicable corporate tax rates. Deferred tax liability represents the potential tax (at 2 percent) on gains as yet unrealized. Because of unrealized losses incurred in 2001, the previous year's liability has been reversed.

Audit by Independent Accountants

The bylaws provide that the Corporation's accounts are to be audited each year by an independent public accountant. Accordingly, the firm of KPMG LLP audited the Corporation's financial statements for the fiscal year ended September 30, 2001. The Corporation's financial statements, together with the independent auditors' report, appear on the following pages.

Independent Auditors' Report

The Board of Trustees
Carnegie Corporation of New York:

We have audited the accompanying balance sheets of Carnegie Corporation of New York as of September 30, 2001 and 2000, and the related statements of changes in unrestricted net assets and cash flows for the years then ended. These financial statements are the responsibility of the Corporation's management. Our responsibility is to express an opinion on these financial statements based on our audits.

We conducted our audits in accordance with auditing standards generally accepted in the United States of America. Those standards require that we plan and perform the audit to obtain reasonable assurance about whether the financial statements are free of material misstatement. An audit includes examining, on a test basis, evidence supporting the amounts and disclosures in the financial statements. An audit also includes assessing the accounting principles used and significant estimates made by management, as well as evaluating the overall financial statement presentation. We believe that our audits provide a reasonable basis for our opinion.

In our opinion, the financial statements referred to above present fairly, in all material respects, the financial position of Carnegie Corporation of New York as of September 30, 2001 and 2000, and the changes in its net assets and its cash flows for the years then ended in conformity with accounting principles generally accepted in the United States of America.

KPMG LLP

KPMG LLP
New York, New York

December 7, 2001

Balance Sheets

September 30, 2001 and 2000

	2001	2000
Assets		
Cash	$ 15,959	$ 583,717
Investments-note 3	1,710,547,344	1,928,384,446
Refundable taxes-note 5	293,801	—
Prepaid expenses and other assets	228,507	150,350
Fixed assets-note 4	425,029	480,299
Total assets	$1,711,510,640	$1,929,598,812
Liabilities and net assets		
Liabilities		
Grants payable	$ 52,979,869	$ 24,684,352
Accounts payable and other liabilities	1,450,930	1,540,295
Taxes payable, net-note 5	—	501,454
Deferred taxes payable-note 5	—	4,314,877
Total liabilities	54,430,799	31,040,978
Net assets		
Unrestricted	1,521,742,973	1,763,220,966
Permanently restricted	135,336,868	135,336,868
Total net assets	1,657,079,841	1,898,557,834
Total liabilities and net assets	$1,711,510,640	$1,929,598,812

See accompanying notes to financial statements.

Statements of Changes in Unrestricted Net Assets

for the years ended September 30, 2001 and 2000

	2001	2000
Investment income		
Interest and dividends	$ 33,286,554	$ 39,542,745
Income from partnerships, net	26,062,940	12,202,763
Net realized gain on investment transactions	74,500,256	181,244,563
Total realized investment income	133,849,750	232,990,071
Less investment expenses paid	6,083,063	5,894,759
Net realized investment income	127,766,687	227,095,312
Expenses		
Grant appropriations	82,516,315	57,644,244
Appropriations for projects administered by officers	1,837,594	2,172,722
Program management and direct charitable activities	9,658,162	9,782,518
General administration	3,027,768	2,991,531
Provision for taxes, net-note 5	3,399,242	3,800,176
Total expenses	100,439,081	76,391,191
Excess of net realized investment income over expenses	27,327,606	150,704,121
Increase (decrease) in unrealized appreciation of investments, net of related deferred federal excise tax (credit) of $(4,598,776) in 2001 and $1,621,104 in 2000-note 5	(268,805,599)	79,434,084
Increase (decrease) in unrestricted net assets	(241,477,993)	230,138,205
Unrestricted net assets, beginning of year	1,763,220,966	1,533,082,761
Unrestricted net assets, end of year	$1,521,742,973	$1,763,220,966

See accompanying notes to financial statements.

Statements of Cash Flows

for the years ended September 30, 2001 and 2000

	2001	2000
Cash flows from operating activities:		
Increase (decrease) in unrestricted net assets	$ (241,477,993)	$ 230,138,205
Adjustments to reconcile increase (decrease) in unrestricted net assets to net cash provided by (used in) operating activities:		
Change in unrealized appreciation of investments	273,404,375	(81,055,188)
Net realized gain on investment transactions	(74,500,256)	(181,244,563)
Depreciation and amortization	167,224	189,087
Change in deferred federal excise tax	(4,314,877)	465,987
Total adjustments	194,756,466	(261,644,677)
Change in refundable taxes, prepaid expenses and other assets	(371,958)	(25,032)
Change in grants payable, accounts payable and other liabilities, and taxes payable	27,704,698	(6,532,911)
Net cash used in operating activities	(19,388,787)	(38,064,415)
Cash flows from investing activities:		
Proceeds from sales or redemptions of investments	1,239,726,543	1,452,919,198
Purchases of investments	(1,220,793,560)	(1,414,264,689)
Purchases of fixed assets	(111,954)	(138,118)
Net cash provided by investing activities	18,821,029	38,516,391
Change in cash	(567,758)	451,976
Cash, beginning of year	583,717	131,741
Cash, end of year	$ 15,959	$ 583,717

See accompanying notes to financial statements.

Notes to Financial Statements

for the years ended September 30, 2001 and 2000

(1) Organization:

Carnegie Corporation of New York (the Corporation) is a philanthropic grantmaking foundation that was created by Andrew Carnegie in 1911 to promote the advancement and diffusion of knowledge and understanding. The Corporation has a policy of selecting a few areas at a time in which to concentrate its grants.

(2) Summary of significant accounting policies:

The accompanying financial statements have been prepared on the accrual basis of accounting.

Fixed assets are stated at cost. Depreciation is calculated on a straight-line basis over the estimated lives of the related assets ranging from five to ten years. Leasehold improvements are amortized over the remaining life of the lease.

For purposes of the statements of cash flows, cash includes all cash held in bank accounts at September 30, 2001 and September 30, 2000.

The resources of the Corporation consist of permanently restricted and unrestricted net assets. Permanently restricted net assets represent the original sums received from Andrew Carnegie who, by the terms of the conveying instrument, stipulated that the principal may never be expended.

The fair value of investments has been determined as indicated in note 3. The carrying amounts of the Corporation's other financial instruments approximates fair value because of their short maturity.

The preparation of financial statements in conformity with generally accepted accounting principles requires management to make estimates and assumptions that affect the reported amounts of assets and liabilities and disclosure of contingent assets and liabilities at the date of the financial statements and the reported amounts of revenues and expenses during the reporting period. Actual results could differ from those estimates.

(3) Investments:

Readily marketable investments are reported on the basis of quoted market prices. Limited partnerships and similar interests are reported at fair value based on financial statements and other information received from the partnerships. The general partner determines the fair value of securities using quoted market prices, if available, or using other valuation methods, including independent appraisals. Investments in limited partnerships and similar interests totaled $690,823,244 at September 30, 2001 and $706,062,242 at September 30, 2000.

Notes to Financial Statements

for the years ended September 30, 2001 and 2000

Investments are composed of the following at September 30, 2001 and 2000:

	September 30, 2001		September 30, 2000	
	Cost	Market/Fair Value	Cost	Market/Fair Value
Equities	$ 875,324,547	$ 770,972,543	$ 772,542,078	$ 847,352,929
Fixed income	301,804,635	315,943,709	387,591,298	388,699,784
Real estate	198,543,219	230,763,332	194,740,133	217,601,698
Absolute return	238,784,511	249,267,999	205,544,116	228,070,369
Private equity	160,170,586	164,233,624	139,370,847	247,882,340
Due (to) from brokers, net	(20,614,598)	(20,633,863)	(1,342,845)	(1,222,674)
Total	$ 1,754,012,900	$1,710,547,344	$1,698,445,627	$1,928,384,446

Included in the table above is accrued investment income of $2,886,954 and $4,753,070 at September 30, 2001 and 2000 respectively.

At September 30, 2001, the Corporation had unfunded commitments of approximately $260 million in various private equity and real estate limited partnership investments.

As a result of its investing strategies, the Corporation is a party to off-balance-sheet index futures contracts. The Corporation's investment advisors use index future contracts to manage both short-term asset allocation and the duration of the fixed income portfolio. Changes in the market value of these futures contracts are recognized currently in the statements of changes in unrestricted net assets, using the marked-to-market method. However, index futures contracts involve, to varying degrees, elements of market risk and credit risk in excess of the amounts recorded on the balance sheets. Market risk represents the potential loss the Corporation faces due to the decrease in the value of the financial instruments in the table below. Credit risk represents the potential loss the Corporation faces due to the inability of counterparties to meet the terms of their contracts.

Notes to Financial Statements

for the years ended September 30, 2001 and 2000

The table below summarizes the long and short exchange-traded financial futures positions at September 30, 2001, and September 30, 2000:

	September 30, 2001		September 30, 2000	
Index future contracts	Net number of contracts-long/(short)	Contract Value (in $ millions)	Net number of contracts-long/(short)	Contract Value (in $ millions)
30-year Treasury bond	(39)	(4.1)	(276)	(27.2)
10-year Treasury note	312	33.9	464	46.5
5-year Treasury note	72	7.8	(98)	(9.9)
2-year Treasury note	(100)	(21.0)	(100)	(20.0)

The margin requirements on deposit with third-party safekeeping banks for index futures contracts were approximately $.6 million at September 30, 2001, and $1 million at September 30, 2000. The partnerships in which the Corporation invests may also hold index futures and options. These positions are not included in the table above.

The Corporation permits its investment managers to use forward foreign exchange contracts to manage the currency risk inherent in owning securities denominated in foreign currencies. In a forward foreign currency transaction, the Corporation agrees to exchange one currency for another on an agreed-upon date at an agreed-upon exchange rate. At September 30, 2001, the Corporation held forward currency buy contracts with notional amounts totaling $2.8 million. At September 30, 2000, the Corporation held forward currency buy contracts with notional amounts totaling $1.7 million. Such contracts involve, to varying degrees, risks of loss arising either from the potential change in market prices or from the possible inability of counterparties to meet the terms of their contracts. Forward foreign currency contracts are carried in the balance sheets at market value. Changes in the value of forward foreign currency contracts are recognized as unrealized gains or losses until such contracts are closed.

The Corporation's investment advisors monitor the financial condition of the firms used for futures and forward foreign currency trading in order to minimize the risk of loss. Exposure limits are placed on firms relative to their credit worthiness. Management does not anticipate that losses, if any, resulting from credit or market risk would materially affect the financial statements.

Notes to Financial Statements

for the years ended September 30, 2001 and 2000

(4) Fixed assets:

Fixed assets are composed of the following at September 30, 2001 and 2000:

	2001	2000
Leasehold improvements	$3,880,126	$3,871,650
Furniture and equipment	3,134,293	3,030,815
	7,014,419	6,902,465
Less accumulated depreciation and amortization	(6,589,390)	(6,422,166)
Total	$ 425,029	$ 480,299

(5) Taxes:

The Corporation is liable for federal excise taxes of two percent of its net investment income, as defined, which includes realized capital gains, for the year. However, this tax is reduced to one percent if certain conditions are met. The Corporation did not meet the requirements for the reduced tax for both 2001 and 2000. Therefore, current taxes are estimated at two percent of net investment income, as defined, for 2001 and 2000.

Deferred taxes represent two percent of unrealized appreciation (depreciation) of investments at September 30, 2000 as qualification for the one percent tax is not determinable until the fiscal year in which gains are realized. Because of unrealized losses incurred in 2001, the previous year's liability has been reversed.

During 2001 and 2000, the Corporation had unrelated business income of $1,060,200 and $306,200, respectively, from certain investment partnership activities. Taxes of $329,600 in 2001 and $130,500 in 2000 on this income are calculated using applicable corporate tax rates and are included in the provision for taxes.

The Corporation paid estimated federal excise taxes of $2,940,000 in 2001 and $4,200,000 in 2000. The Corporation also paid estimated federal unrelated business income tax of $150,000 in 2001 and $200,000 in 2000.

Notes to Financial Statements

for the years ended September 30, 2001 and 2000

(6) Benefit plans:

The Corporation purchases annuities for qualifying employees under the terms of a noncontributory, defined contribution retirement plan with Teachers Insurance and Annuity Association and College Retirement Equities Fund. Retirement plan expense for the years ended September 30, 2001 and 2000, was $859,600 and $848,700, respectively.

In addition, the Corporation has a noncontributory defined benefit annuity plan to supplement the basic plan described above. This plan is also administered by Teachers Insurance and Annuity Association and College Retirement Equities Fund. Contributions to this plan are based on actuarial calculations. No contribution was required in 2001 or 2000. At December 31, 2000, the assets of the plan exceeded the actuarial present value of accumulated plan benefits by approximately $1,205,900.

In addition, the Corporation provides certain medical benefits to its retirees. The cost of providing these benefits was $98,800 in 2001 and $97,300 in 2000, on a pay-as-you-go basis.

(7) Leases:

The Corporation occupies office space at 437 Madison Avenue under a lease agreement expiring December 31, 2003.

The following is a schedule of the future minimum lease payments at September 30, 2001.

Fiscal year ending September 30	
2002	$1,254,000
2003	1,254,000
2004	314,000
	$2,822,000

Rental expense for 2001 and 2000, including escalations, was $1,422,600 and $1,364,200, respectively.

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